

JK 2253

1920

.P3





2208
117

THE AMERICAN VOTER'S HANDBOOK

A Guide to Intelligent Political Action

STRICTLY NON-PARTISAN

By HASBROUCK O. PALEN

READ——THINK——ACT
FOR
THE NATIONAL WELFARE

THAT this nation, under God, shall have a new birth
of freedom, and that government of the people,
by the people, for the people, shall not perish from
the earth.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Poughkeepsie, New York
THE HELPER PRESS
1920



JK 2253
1960
P. 3

Copyright 1920
By HASBROUCK O. PALEN

© Cl. A 576579

SEP 27 1920

J.P.B. OCT 25 - 20

TO MY WIFE
FLORENCE WHITE PALEN

who has been my best helper in
its preparation, this book is
affectionately dedicated.



CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword	7
The Voter's Problem	9
Ideals of a Democracy	11
The Reconciliation of Government with Liberty	12
The Genius of Our Government	14
Women in Politics	17
Countries in Which Women may now Vote	18
Initiative, Referendum and Recall	19
As Others See Us	22
What the Sages Say	30
What of the Future?	37
The Presidential Race	39
Republican Party Platform	43
Democratic Party Platform	56
Prohibition Party Platform	70
Socialist Party Platform	74
Farmer-Labor Party Platform	82
Single Tax Party Platform	87
Declaration of Independence	88
Constitution of the United States	92
Amendments to the Constitution	102
Proclamation of the 19th Amendment	105
Electoral Vote by States	109
Presidents of the United States	110
Milestone Dates in United States History	111
With or Without Reservations	114
League of Nations Covenant	115
Lodge Reservations	124
Bibliography	127

FOREWORD

This book is a modest endeavor to bring together in somewhat orderly fashion the information that an American voter should have at hand as a guide to intelligent political action.

The future of this greatest of nations has no peril so great as that of the ignorant, or thoughtless, voter whose support at the ballot-box makes possible the triumph of the political demagogue, or "Boss," in his quest for power and pelf. A great American thinker and philosopher has truly said: "It is the imbecility of the masses that invites the impudence of power."

With the fervent hope that a study of its contents may help its readers to rise to a higher plane of thought and action on our great national problems than the mere partisan voter tends to reach, the author launches this book upon its mission with a prayer that it may accomplish that whereunto it is sent.

My acknowledgments are due to the publishers named below for permission to use extracts from their copyrighted publications, as indicated by footnotes in the body of the work: Ginn & Company, The Outlook Company, Doubleday, Page & Co.

HASBROUCK O. PALEN.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
September 8, 1920.

THE VOTER'S PROBLEM

In these momentous days of "Reconstruction" about which we have lately heard so much from both platform and press, the task of the thoughtful and conscientious voter is truly herculean.

In the bewildering mass of opinion and inspired propaganda, what to do, how to vote, so as to serve the best interests of one's country and humanity, has become a most puzzling problem.

Under our system of party division and government, with party leaders moved too often by selfish and utilitarian, rather than patriotic and altruistic, motives, it is difficult to find a party platform on which one can stand and feel that it is altogether satisfying. Unfortunately this sharp party division of the electorate tends to a more or less blind, unreasoning alignment of the great mass of voters. Dominated by a few forceful leaders, this struggle for ascendancy tends to obscure the issues vital to true democracy and good government. The party spirit intensified by frantic appeals to down the opposition by all means, fair or foul, unfits its devotees for a calm, judicial verdict on the issues at stake. This condition is further aggravated by a partisan press through which each side bends every energy to create a public opinion favorable to its particular political creed, too often without regard to holding the balance even. Truth and the right may be obscured in the smoke of battle furiously waged for party success and government control. If one wishes to know what any party really stands for, one must read the opposition press, as well as one's own party organs. Because of these conditions, "politics" and "politician" have become terms of obloquy and reproach, rather than expressions of intelligent, patriotic devotion to the national welfare, as they should be.

Because of the great magnitude of the stakes for which the political game is played by the great party organizations, the temptation to resort to unfair and unscrupulous methods to win, is apt to overbalance a proper sense of right and fair play. An evil of ominous portent in this country has become increasingly apparent in recent years, culminating this year in the defeat for nomination of a candidate who for a time seemed sure of success at one of the great National political conventions. The thinly disguised designs of "Big Business" to dominate the choice of presidential candidates has finally aroused the people to

a sense of the dangers to the Republic from this source. The "Money Powers" do not hesitate to exert great pressure in behalf of their favorites for high public office.

The very pronounced reaction of public opinion that followed the disclosure of a huge pre-convention war-chest, bulging with a round half-million contribution from the head of a great mid-west industrial concern, is a hopeful indication that this grave menace to the purity of elections has been significantly scotched. The hope of the nation lies in an active and increasing vigilance to guard the ballot-box—the palladium of liberty—from all influences that do not have their source in unselfish, patriotic desire to uphold and advance the cause of true democracy. Every effort to debauch the electorate by the use of money, every attempt to pollute the well-spring of freedom at its fountain head, must be throttled without mercy whenever, or wherever, manifested.

Philosophers and historians have frequently pointed out this menace to republican institutions. A great Irish poet has well said: "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, where wealth accumulates and men decay." Discerning observers are already sounding notes of warning that we are approaching that dangerous stage in the evolution of advanced civilizations where great riches in the hands of the few foreshadow despotism and the exploitation and oppression of the masses. Let us fervently hope that this fair land of ours may escape the perils that threaten to engulf us in the maelstrom that has swallowed up the great civilizations of the past, whose buried cities, monumental creations and artistic achievements far excel anything of our fashioning that will be spared by the gnawing tooth of time.

By reason of the enormous power which they wield and the money or patronage which they command, party governments may become a potential and ominous menace to true democracy. Ours is designed to be a *government of laws and not of men*. So let us not be stampeded by party whips and campaign spell-binders whose partisan zeal often beclouds their political vision.

The great, overshadowing question that should challenge the serious thought of every voter as he or she approaches the ballot-box is "What of the Nation's welfare; *will my vote count for it?*"

IDEALS OF A DEMOCRACY

¹ Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do ingloriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

JOHN MILTON.

1. Justice to All
2. Equality before the Law
3. Equal Opportunities to All
4. Special Privileges to None
5. Freedom of Speech
6. The Right of Peaceable Assembly
7. Freedom of The Press
8. The People, The Sovereign Power.
9. An Educated Electorate.
(Liberty is incompatible with Illiteracy)

¹ Extract from "Areopagitica: A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing to the Parliament of England."

THE RECONCILIATION OF GOVERNMENT WITH LIBERTY

Since the earliest germination of the idea of the sacredness of personal liberty, there has been a slow, but steady, growing consciousness of the tendency of all organized control of men's appetites and activities to crush the tender plant. This innate hesitancy of the virile, uncultured man to subordinate his individual will to that of the mass has been the cause of much friction in the evolution of that ordered and directed community life that we call government. This rebellious spirit of non-conformity, so much decried, is really our only anchor to windward when the tyranny, or the slavish acquiescence, of the multitude manifests itself. From it have sprung those heroes of humanity who have inspired poetic genius to record in literature the achievements of the daring rebels who start revolt. Its absence would erase from the scroll of fame the names and deeds of the world's martyrs.

Strange, is it not, that mankind always crucifies its saviours, and leaves their merits to be disclosed by future generations.

In the introduction to his valuable book with the above title, Prof. John W. Burgess, formerly Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law in Columbia University, says:

"It has been the search of the ages to find a political system, the travail of the ages to construct one, in which government and liberty shall be reconciled, in which each of these all-comprehending means of civilization shall strengthen the other, and in which finally each shall be the fulfillment of the other. Down to the present moment this millennial equilibrium has not been fully attained, and mankind always has been, and still is, in danger of diverging from the true path which leads to it, towards despotism on the one side or anarchy on the other. The only protection against these dangers is a correct and profound appreciation of the historical development of the State."

As the stability of government is predicated upon the idea of power to coerce the few for the good of the many, the tendency of those who wield the power of the State is always towards abuse of this power against the individual, who may protest that his liberties are being curtailed or infringed. Particularly is this true in times of unusual stress, such as the war period through which we have recently passed. Free-

dom of speech and of the press suffer violence in many instances while such conditions exist. The anxiety of those in power, lest the situation may get the better of them, naturally tends towards a too vigorous exercise of the power for repression that is invoked in the interest of the public order. As the mob spirit when once aroused is difficult to control, prudence naturally suggests more or less strenuous methods of control, lest it may lead to excesses dangerous to society. A historian writing on the period of the French Revolution says: "The people unused to Liberty, were made drunken by it, and went mad. In breaking the gyves of feudalism they broke every other restraint, and wrecked society in all its forms."

The curtailment of the liberty of the individual during such periods of stress tends towards what may justly be complained of as an exercise of tyranny in many cases. But the threatened overthrow of orderly government at such times goes far toward justification of vigorous methods of control, for fear that a leaning towards leniency may encourage bold spirits among the protestants to perilous excesses, dangerous to the social order. Therefore, it behooves us as an order-loving people to temper our resentment during such periods by an exercise of that charity towards our chosen rulers that "suffereth long and is kind," until such time as the storm of passion may gradually subside, when cooler judgments will again prevail.

The reconciliation of government with liberty in a democracy like ours will always tax to the uttermost the power of self-control in the individuals who make up the aggregate of society, for whose welfare the powers we voluntarily relinquish to the State are exercised. Failure to exercise this power of self-control for the good of the many in times of unusual stress may lead to anarchy and unstable conditions worse than the ills of which we may often justly complain.

Judge Cooley in an address to the South Carolina Bar Association, December, 1886, says: "The liberty-loving people of every country take courage from American freedom, and find augury of better days for themselves from American prosperity. But America is not so much an example in her liberty as in the covenanted and enduring securities which are intended to prevent liberty degenerating into license, and to establish a feeling of trust and repose under a beneficent government, whose excellence, so obvious in its freedom, is still more conspicuous in its careful provision for permanence and stability."

THE GENIUS OF OUR GOVERNMENT

Since the time of Aristotle the world has been familiar with his classification of governments as Monarchical or Autocratic, Aristocratic, and Democratic. But the old picture of the absolute monarch, or Autocrat, has lost its standing in the modern political world. With the recent crumbling of three great European monarchies, the rule of the people by the "Divine right of Kings" has practically vanished from the earth. Indeed, the rumblings that are now reaching us from the far side of the Pacific suggest that the last stronghold of despotic rule is now under siege with significant breaches already made in its beleaguered walls. "*Vox populi, vox Dei*" now echoes around the world as never before. The Divinity that once did hedge a King has lost its magic potency to charm and exploit the erstwhile loyal and submissive multitude. The reclamation of sovereignty by the peoples of the world is now in full swing. The just powers of government in all enlightened lands must henceforth be based upon "The consent of the governed," as proclaimed in our immortal Declaration of Independence.

The three main things that one should study in order to understand the genius, or characteristic spirit, of our government and its institutions are: (1) its constitutional framework, (2) the methods by which it is operated, and (3) the forces that move it and direct its course.

Our governmental institutions have a character and an individuality all their own. They constitute a symmetrical whole, and in their workings have challenged the interest and attention of students of government throughout the world. All of the democracies, or constitutional governments, that have sprung up since ours began have been more or less closely modelled after it. The strong hold it has acquired upon the affections of oppressed peoples everywhere was strikingly evidenced by the rapt interest with which those who came to the Paris Peace Conference hung upon the words of our President, who was looked up to as the Moses who was to lead them out of bondage to the promised land of liberty.

Two guiding principles distinguish the more special features that are peculiar to American government. The first of these is the sovereignty of the people, which is expressed in the supreme law of the land—the Constitution—and which cannot be altered, or departed from in the least without a direct mandate from the people. Its reservation

to the States and the people of all powers not specifically delegated makes it possible for the people to shape their destiny as under no other form of government yet devised by man.

The second guiding principle, a corollary of the first, consists in the carefully contrived safeguards against too much power being lodged in any one of the three co-ordinate departments of the government,—legislative, executive, or judicial. Purely democratic administration of governmental affairs is, of course, impossible in a country with so large a population as ours. We must necessarily act through chosen representatives whose liberties of action are closely confined within restricted limits. Each of the three departments of government is made a “jealous observer and restrainer of the others,” and abuses of delegated power are prevented by trusting each agent as little as possible.

Furthermore, the sanctity of the separate states that compose the Union is scrupulously protected against violation by the national government. Likewise, the individual citizen’s prerogatives have not been overlooked, but are carefully guarded in the fundamental law.

It is quite interesting to note that in the interim between the ratification of the Constitution by the several States during the years 1787, 1788, and 1789, and the first session of the First Congress, there was much discussion in regard to the lack of specific and exact definition of the sacred rights of freemen in the proposed fundamental law of the new Union. As a result of this, at the very first session of the Congress, which was convened in New York on March 4, 1789, the first ten amendments to the Constitution were proposed and submitted to the States for ratification.

If you have not carefully read these ten amendments, do so without further delay. They will probably give you a more exalted idea of your individual importance as an atom in the great mass we call “The People” in this country, than you have been wont to entertain.

The ingeniously planned system of “Checks and balances” provided in our constitution for regulating the workings of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial departments of the government, has given enduring fame to those far-seeing, constructive “Architects of Freedom” who wrought out its specifications, in order that it might guarantee the inalienable rights of man and the liberties of the people, without sacrificing orderly and stable government. Yet, notwithstanding its wonderful breadth and elastic qualities of adaptation to the changing conditions of our national growth and economic development, the monu-

mental edifice has had to undergo repairs, or Amendments, as the great hand of time has moved forward on the dial of the centuries.

The ratification of the seventeenth (Election of U. S. Senators by popular vote) and nineteenth (Woman Suffrage) Amendments to the Constitution by the required two-thirds of the States are unmistakable evidences of the growing conviction of the people that reverence for our Great Charter of Government must not be too much invoked, if progress towards the higher ideals of human achievement is not to be halted.

While the sentiment, or feeling, that basic changes in our fundamental framework of government should not be hastily entertained, or precipitately acted upon, as being hazardous to the stability of government, yet this steadying conservatism and reverential regard for the things of the past must not bar the way to future progress. Upward and onward are the watchwords of progress in a democracy like ours. Changing conditions in the evolutionary development of the nation demand that worship of the older forms of thought and action must not obscure the light ahead towards which our Ship of State is headed.

The just powers of government in a democracy such as ours are delegated powers. They reside in the accumulation of the wills of the masses, transferred for the time being, either avowedly or tacitly, to the rulers chosen by the masses. It follows, therefore, that the consent of the governed, from which the just powers of government are derived, may be withdrawn whenever the people determine that their chosen rulers are overstepping the boundaries of this delegated power.

Some of the means by which this reservation of power by the people may be exercised are discussed in a later chapter, entitled, "Initiative, Referendum and Recall."

WOMEN IN POLITICS

Woman's rightful claim, so long contested, that democracy's ideal of "Justice to All," implies *full rights of citizenship* to man's better half, has finally been allowed by haughty man.

Readers of the popular magazines of the day will recall that one of these heavily freighted purveyors of alluring appeals that deplete the purse of the American family for a multitude of costly superfluities from the many "cereal and sawdust near-foods" to the luxurious automobile, not long since ran a series of articles in which a man and a woman were selected from among its contributors to play up the foibles of the two sexes under the captions: "Oh, Well, You Know How Women Are!" and "Isn't That Just Like a Man!" This battle of wits suggested to the writer the following thoughts as to the mental and moral powers and limitations of the sexes. Viewed from the psychological standpoint the chief difference between a man's way and a woman's way of considering the momentous questions of life seems to lie in the different attitudes of mind in which they approach the solution of the difficulties to be overcome.

Man says: "Is the thing feasible? Is it practicable? Is it expedient?" Woman compasses the whole vexed situation with one sweeping, all-inclusive query: "Is the thing *right*?" Man twists and turns and fences with numerous straw-men of his own creation, while woman advances with undaunted front to crush the monster that bars the way of righteousness. Humiliated by his recognition of woman's superiority over him in meeting moral issues, man salves his feelings and eases his conscience by saying: "O, yes; woman doesn't reason about these things; she *intuitively* jumps to a conclusion. Of course, sometimes she's right, but, etc., etc., ad infinitum." While man is floundering in a morass of doubt and expediency, woman has reached the solid ground of right and justice. Man debates. Woman decides. Is the liquor traffic a menace to the home and society? Man says: "We'll 'scotch the snake'—license it under restrictions." Woman says: "Kill the viper—prohibit the thing." Is the question one of social purity? Man says: "O, the boy must 'sow his wild oats' you know, before he settles down." Woman says: "Away with a double standard of sex morality! Virginity demands its counterpart in an unsoiled

mate." Man fashions creeds and rituals. Woman makes the Church a spiritual and social power. Man disputes with Christ in the temple. Woman offers worship and service. Man entangles himself in a web of logic and dialectics. Woman without seeming to reason the thing out, (so man says) reaches a right conclusion of the matter. Man goes "'Round by Robin Hood's barn." Woman cuts straight across lots.

And so we venture to predict that woman's entrance into the arena of politics promises an acceleration of needed reforms in municipal, state and national government. Woman is the natural teacher of the young. It would seem a reasonable forecast that her active participation in governmental affairs will make for an earlier bending of the twig in the direction of an interest in politics. Thus the later inclination of the embryo voter may be towards a more acute civic sense, and a greater feeling of individual responsibility for good government than many of our present voters manifest.

The Philadelphia *North American* in editorially discussing the women's vote in the coming election says: "The participation of women will bring no upheaval in politics. Their mental processes are keener, [than men's] and their faculty of intuition is superior, but they will cause no violent change." The partisan press of both of the major political parties shows unmistakable solicitude as to how these more than twenty-five millions of voters are going to align themselves in this quadrennial contest. Will they "cut no figure" in the ultimate result by simply following the lead of their men folks, as many of these editors are inclined to think? Or will they ——? Heaven forbid! For how will the "dopesters" be able to forecast the result, if they should ——?

COUNTRIES IN WHICH WOMEN MAY NOW VOTE

Isle of Man	1881	Canada	1918
New Zealand	1893	Czecho-Slovakia	1918
Australia	1902	Hungary	1918
Finland	1906	Germany	1918
Norway	1907	England	1918
Denmark	1915	Holland	1919
Mexico	1917	Belgium	1919
Russia	1917	British East Africa.....	1919
Poland	1918	Rhodesia	1919
Ireland	1918	Luxembourg	1919
Scotland	1918	Iceland	1919
Wales	1918	Sweden	1919
Austria	1918	United States	1920

INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL

In a democracy such as ours, the powers of the State are founded upon the conditional transfer of the accumulated wills of the people to their chosen rulers. It follows, therefore, that the delegated power to govern exists only on condition that the will of the people be properly carried out by their duly elected representatives. This reservation of political power, prudently withheld by the people, has during the last three decades been incorporated into the organic law, or constitutions, of quite a number of the States under the designation of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, terms and procedure borrowed from the sturdy little Swiss Republic that has stood for more than six hundred years like an island in a sea of monarchy, and where these measures for safeguarding the sovereign power of the people have long been in vogue.

The Referendum is a condition precedent to the taking effect of a law duly enacted by the legislature; while the Initiative is manifestly a condition precedent to the Referendum. Both measures reserve to the sovereign people the powers that unrestrained representative government has frequently warned us may be exercised against the public weal.

The Recall is a provision for the removal of a duly elected, or appointed, public official by a vote of the people, for malfeasance in office, or failure to execute their will as their representative.

The application of the Referendum method of control in reference to questions of local taxation and the expenditure of public funds in municipalities has become almost general in the States during recent years. It has also been invoked in numerous instances on the question of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors by legislatures whose members have by this means been responsive to the will of the people, while at the same time evading all personal responsibility in the settlement of this vexatious question, now happily removed from the arena of discussion by the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It will thus be seen that this method of expression of the popular will is now far from being an innovation with the American people.

South Dakota was the pioneer state in the inauguration of this method of imbuing its public officials with a lively sense of their direct

responsibilities to their constituents. In 1898 their State Constitution was amended as follows: "The people expressly reserve to themselves the right to propose measures, which measures the legislature shall enact and submit to a vote of the electors of the state." Here we have the right of Initiative and Referendum combined. In this forward-looking State Charter the people further reserve to themselves the right "to require that any laws which the legislature may have enacted shall be submitted to a vote of the electors of the State before going into effect, except such laws as may be necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, support of the State government and its existing public institutions" (the Referendum here pure and simple). This progressive instrument of government further provides that the *people may initiate laws* for submission to popular vote upon the petition of five per cent. of the whole number of "qualified electors of the State." They may also require a vote upon any law which has already been passed by their representatives in the legislature, with the exceptions noted above, upon the request of a similar proportion of the electorate. From this it will be seen that their chief state executive, the Governor, ceases longer to exercise the power of veto over such laws as may be asked for by the people upon their own initiative. Here we have the Initiative right pure and simple.

Oklahoma placed these safeguards of liberty in her Constitution at the beginning of her statehood. The power of Recall was adopted by the City of Los Angeles, California, in 1902, and has since spread to many other municipalities, mainly as an accessory of local commission government.

President Taft's veto of the bill to admit Arizona because its proposed constitution permitted the recall of judges of the courts aroused national interest. After its admission to the Union, Arizona re-inserted the judicial recall in her constitution.

Debate for and against reserving this right to the people has been vigorous and voluminous. Its opponents contend that it undermines representative government, breeds petty strife and personal quarrel in the body politic and disturbs business conditions. Its advocates on the other hand urge that it gives the people immediate and adequate power to correct gross abuses, instills in public officials a keener sense of public duty and responsibility, and provides an orderly, efficient process of popular discipline.

President Roosevelt proposed a popular referendum for the "Recall of Judicial Decisions" in State Courts of last resort, which the

State of Colorado has put into practice. "When the legislature and the court differ," says Roosevelt, "the people, whose agents they are, should have the right to decide between them." Advocates of the recall of judges and Court decisions claim that the Courts have sometimes assumed political and legislative power, shown themselves out of touch with the people, and have in some cases aroused suspicion that they have become the "tools of special privilege." Opponents of the recall idea uphold the independence of the judiciary and the sacredness of written Constitutions not too easily susceptible of amendment. They stand for traditional American reverence for Courts and Constitutions. Advocates of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall close the debate by asserting that, as "all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," the stream cannot rise above its source.

As yet our National Constitution does not reserve this power to the people, except by "impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

AS OTHERS SEE US

In the following extracts some of the weaker links in the anchor chain of our Ship of State are pointed out.

Alexis DeTocqueville of France and ¹ James Bryce of England are the most searching and incisive, and at the same time the most sympathetic, critics that have discussed at such length both the strong and the weak features of a democracy, particularly as exemplified in the practical workings of constitutional government in the United States. Dr. H. von Holst is, perhaps, our most unsparing critic. He aims several well-directed shafts at the most vulnerable spots in our armor. The eminent Japanese lawyer, Mr. Masuji Miyakawa, a more recent observer who has spent several years in this country as an interested student of its institutions, has also added to the literature of the discussion. So we have here a sort of kaleidoscopic picture of ourselves from the viewpoints of four different nationalities.

¹ We regret that for some reason, unexplained, the publishers of "The American Commonwealth" have refused us permission to quote extracts from Mr. Bryce's valuable work, with proper credit. We, therefore, refer our readers to the following Chapters of this work that contain comment and criticism that we should have incorporated in this Chapter had not our request to quote been denied, as above stated: Chapters I, XVI, XXVI, LXXII, LXXXIV, LXXXV, 1910 edition.

¹ THE TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY

I hold it to be an impious and detestable maxim that, politically speaking, the people have a right to do anything; and yet I have asserted that all authority originates in the will of the majority. Am I then in contradiction with myself?

A general law, which bears the name of justice, has been made and sanctioned, not only by a majority of this or that people, but by a majority of mankind. The rights of every people are therefore confined within the limits of what is just. A nation may be considered as a jury which is empowered to represent society at large, and to apply justice, which is its law. Ought such a jury, which represents society, to have more power than the society itself, whose laws it executes?

When I refuse to obey an unjust law, I do not contest the right of the majority to command, but I simply appeal from the sovereignty of the people to the sovereignty of mankind. Some have not feared to assert that a people can never outstep the boundaries of justice and

¹ Extracts from DeTocqueville's "Democracy in America."

reason in those affairs which are peculiarly its own; and that consequently full power may be given to the majority by which they are represented. But this is the language of a slave.

A majority taken collectively is only an individual whose opinions, and frequently whose interests, are opposed to those of another individual who is styled a minority. If it be admitted that a man possessing absolute power may misuse that power by wronging his adversaries, why should not a majority be liable to the same reproach? Men do not change their characters by uniting with each other; nor does their patience in the presence of obstacles increase with their strength. For my part I cannot believe it. The power to do everything, which I should refuse to *one* of my equals, I will never grant to any number of them.

I do not think that, for the sake of preserving liberty, it is possible to combine several principles in the same government so as really to oppose them to one another. The form of government which is usually termed *mixed* has always appeared to me a mere chimera. Accurately speaking, there is no such thing as a *mixed government*, in the sense usually given to that word, because in all communities some one principle of action may be discovered which preponderates over the others. England in the last century, which has been especially cited as an example of this sort of government, was essentially an aristocratic state, although it comprised some great elements of democracy; for the laws and customs of the country were such that the aristocracy could not but preponderate in the long run, and direct public affairs according to its own will. The error arose from seeing the interests of the nobles perpetually contending with those of the people, without considering the issue of the contest, which was really the important point. When a community actually has a mixed government,—that is to say, when it is equally divided between adverse principles,—it must either experience a revolution, or fall into anarchy.

I am therefore of opinion that social power superior to all others must always be placed somewhere. But I think that liberty is endangered when this power finds no obstacle which can retard its course, and give it time to moderate its own vehemence.

Unlimited power is in itself a bad and dangerous thing. Human beings are not competent to exercise it with discretion. God alone can be omnipotent, because His wisdom and His justice are always equal to His power. There is no power on earth so worthy of honor in itself, or clothed with rights so sacred, that I would admit its uncontrolled and all-predominant authority. When I see that the right and

the means of absolute command are conferred on any power whatever, be it called a people or a king, an aristocracy or a democracy, a monarchy or a republic, I say there is the germ of tyranny, and I seek to live elsewhere, under other laws.

In my opinion the main evil of the present democratic institutions of the United States does not arise, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, but from their irresistible strength. I am not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country, as at the inadequate securities which one finds there against tyranny.

When an individual or a party is wronged in the United States, to whom can he apply for redress? If to public opinion, public opinion constitutes the majority; if to the legislature, it represents the majority, and implicitly obeys it; if to the executive power, it is appointed by the majority, and serves as a passive tool in its hands. The public force consists of the majority under arms; the jury is the majority invested with the right of hearing judicial cases; and, in certain states, even the judges are elected by the majority. However iniquitous or absurd the measure of which you complain, you must submit to it as well as you can.

If, on the other hand, a legislative power could be so constituted as to represent the majority without necessarily being the slave of its passions, an executive so as to retain a proper share of authority, and a judiciary so as to remain independent of the other two powers, a government would be formed which would still be democratic, without incurring hardly any risk of tyranny.

I do not say that there is a frequent use of tyranny in America at the present day; but I maintain that there is no sure barrier against it, and that the causes which mitigate the government there are to be found in the circumstances and the manners of the country, more than in its laws.

A distinction must be drawn between tyranny and arbitrary power. Tyranny may be exercised by means of the law itself, and in that case it is not arbitrary; arbitrary power may be exercised for the public good, in which case it is not tyrannical. Tyranny usually employs arbitrary means, but, if necessary, it can do without them.

In the United States the omnipotence of the majority which is favorable to the legal despotism of the legislature, likewise favors the arbitrary authority of the magistrate. The majority has absolute power both to make the law and to watch over its execution; and as it has equal authority over those who are in power, and the community at large, it considers public officers as its passive agents, and readily

confides to them the task of carrying out its designs. The details of their office and the privileges which they are to enjoy are rarely defined beforehand. It treats them as a master does his servants, since they are always at work in his sight, and he can direct or reprimand them at any instant.

In general, the American functionaries are far more independent within the sphere which is prescribed to them than are the French civil officers. Sometimes, even, they are allowed by the popular authority to exceed those bounds; and as they are protected by the opinion, and backed by the power, of the majority, they dare do things which even a European, accustomed as he is to arbitrary power, is astonished at. By this means habits are formed in the heart of a free country which may some day prove fatal to its liberties. I know of no country in which there is so little independence of mind and real freedom of discussion as in America. In any constitutional state in Europe every sort of religious and political theory may be freely preached and disseminated; for there is no country in Europe so subdued by any single authority, as not to protect the man who raises his voice in the cause of truth from the consequences of his hardihood. If he is unfortunate enough to live under an absolute government, the people are often upon his side; if he inhabits a free country, he can, if necessary, find a shelter behind the throne. The aristocratic part of society supports him in some countries, and the democracy in others. But in a nation where democratic institutions exist, organized like those of the United States, there is but one authority, one element of strength and success, with nothing beyond it.

In America, the majority raises formidable barriers around the liberty of opinion. Within these barriers an author may write what he pleases, but woe to him if he goes beyond them. Not that he is in danger of an auto-da-fé, but he is exposed to continued obloquy and persecution. His political career is closed forever, since he has offended the only authority which is able to open it. Every sort of compensation, even that of celebrity, is refused to him. Before publishing his opinions, he imagined that he held them in common with others; but no sooner has he declared them, than he is loudly censured by his opponents, whilst those who think like him, without having the courage to speak out, abandon him in silence. He yields at length, overcome by the daily effort which he has to make, and subsides into silence, as if he felt remorse for having spoken the truth.

Fetters and headsmen were the coarse instruments which tyranny formerly employed, but the civilization of our age has perfected des-

potism itself, though it seemed to have nothing to learn. Monarchs had, so to speak, materialized oppression. The democratic republics of the present day have rendered it as entirely an affair of the mind, as the will which it is intended to coerce. Under the absolute sway of one man the body was attacked in order to subdue the soul; but the soul escaped the blows which were directed against it, and rose proudly superior. Such is not the course adopted by tyranny in democratic republics. There the body is left free, and the soul is enslaved. The master no longer says, "You shall think as I do, or you shall die." But he says, ¹ "You are free to think differently from me, and to retain your life, your property and all that you possess; but you are henceforth a stranger among your people. You may retain your civil rights, but they will be useless to you, for you will never be chosen by your fellow-citizens, if you solicit their votes; and they will affect to scorn you, if you ask for their esteem. You will remain among men, but you will be deprived of the rights of mankind. Your fellow creatures will shun you like an impure being; and even those who believe in your innocence will abandon you, lest they should be shunned in their turn. Go in peace! I have given you your life, but it is an existence worse than death." If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed that event may be attributed to the omnipotence of the majority, which may at some future time urge the minorities to desperation, and oblige them to have recourse to physical force. Anarchy will then be the result, but it will have been brought about by despotism.

ALEXIS DeTOCQUEVILLE.

² CANONIZING THE CONSTITUTION

The origin of the Constitution and the first years in which it did so much for the good of the people by producing a radical change in the unhappy situation of affairs after the war, were contemporaneous with the adoption or invention of political or party principles. The political reasoning of the school which gave tone to the time started out with the assumption that the individual was a monad floating through the universe and governed by independent laws inherent in himself, not a member of a given society into which he was born. The consequence was that certain principles resulting from this mode of reasoning were substituted for actual facts, as a foundation for the social and economic conditions which it was sought to bring about. As

¹ The reader can doubtless call to mind a number of men of promise in our public life in recent years, who have thus been crushed by the tyranny of the majority in creating adverse public opinion.—H. O. P.

² Extracts from "The Constitutional and Political History of the United States," by Dr. H. von Holst.

the basis of these principles was discovered in human nature, they were necessarily declared to be unchangeable and applicable to all times and to every people. Their tendency, therefore, was, on the one hand, to destroy the existing state of things; for any title not in harmony with these principles was a fraud and a usurpation, and was denounced as a weak and damnable species of commerce with the injustice of a thousand years. But on the other hand, to adopt this philosophy would be to declare stagnation the natural condition of all social and political order. If the principles were to be unchangeable, incapable of refinement and progress, there would be no possibility of development; for principles are only the quintessence of the aggregate intellectual and moral knowledge of a people or of the age, reduced to the simplest formula.

We have already seen that even in America, at the outbreak of the Revolution, the soil was prepared for a system of politics based on absolute principles. The French Revolution caused the seed to germinate here more rapidly and luxuriantly than in any other part of the western civilized world.....

In political questions of a concrete nature, the Americans are on the average more competent judges than any people on the Continent of Europe. The political institutions of the country, its social and especially its economic relations, educate them from the cradle to independent thought on all questions involving material interests, and encourage them to summon their whole intellectual strength for their solution. But in the wearing struggles of daily life new problems of this character continually arise, and almost exhaust their intellectual strength. Their energy of mind is not in consequence great enough to give much depth to their thoughts on political problems of a general nature. The disposition towards generalization is sufficiently developed, but their observations are neither various, nor long, nor reliable enough to warrant inductions of any real value. Half-true and vague ideas are therefore raised by them to the dignity of unimpeachable principles. These are appealed to on every occasion, so they rapidly rise to the dignity of sovereign laws. And the more they assume this character, the stronger does the conviction become rooted that they are the stars by which the Ship of State should be steered. The further the idea of democracy was pushed, first in theory and then in practice, the more did the doctrine of the equality of all men become perverted in the minds of the masses into the equal capacity of all men to decide on political questions of every kind. The principle of mere numbers gained ground. The political philosophy of the masses was

comprised in these vague maxims. They clung to them with all the self-complacent obstinacy of the lowest and most numerous body of the working classes. They were nowhere more sensitive than here. Whoever desired their favor dared not touch this idol of theirs, and could scarcely ignore it unpunished. The fetish had been raised up for the worship of the masses by their leaders, and the masses in turn compelled their leaders to fall down and adore it. Under no form of government is it so dangerous to erect a political idol as in a democratic republic; for once erected, it is the political sin against the Holy Spirit to lay hands upon it.....

It was necessary that the Constitution should be highly elastic in its nature. Its terms must be susceptible of great extension or contraction of meaning, according to the want of the moment. A more brittle bond would be infallibly broken. This is not a matter of speculation. The whole history of the United States, from 1789 to 1861, demonstrates it..... Were it not that the letter of the Constitution permitted all parties to verge upon the actual dissolution of the Union, without feeling themselves responsible for a breach of the Constitution, it is likely that long before 1861, a serious attempt in that direction would have been made..... Calhoun and his disciples were not the authors of the doctrine of nullification and secession. That question is as old as the Constitution itself, and has always been a living one, even when it has not been one of life and death. Its roots lay in the actual circumstances of the time, and the Constitution was the living expression of these actual circumstances.

H. VON HOLST.

¹ THE PEOPLE AND THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

This prominent term, the people, in the American acceptance, is entirely different from the term as used in European and Asiatic countries. This distinct and different meaning is unknown to doctors of laws in these countries, no matter how thoroughly versed they may be in the principles of law, unless they receive the significance of the term in the true American acceptance. By the expression, the people of the United States, is meant, from the American standpoint, the whole mass of both male and female citizens, which constitutes the political unit. The American people are identified as a political entity, an artificial being, and are not a mere majority of the persons composing society, or those having the right to vote. The people are the very creator of the whole fabric of the American Government, and the mo-

¹ Extracts from "Powers of the American People," by Masuji Miyakawa.

tive god that rules the American universe, whom both individuals and groups of individuals are bound to obey. When the people once determine a thing there is no appeal from it. They are above the Constitution.....

There is, however, one thing which is revered, sanctified and revered as the symbol of American sovereignty and as a real emblem of the people, viz., the flag of Stars and Stripes. The nature of the free institutions of America demands that this point be made emphatic. Should any American, naturalized, or natural born, not take pride in the flag, it points to the conclusion that he has no business or right to receive protection at the expense of the people.....

The Americans believe, by reason of their objective religion, that there is in woman an immortal soul as precious as the soul of man. They also believe that there are certain functions, offices and glories for which woman is better fitted than man. The Americans, who constitute free institutions, are thus impelled to have more religious enthusiasm, philanthropy and morality. And, as the groundwork on which free institutions rest, they say that women are born with surpassing genius, virtue and intelligence. They say that whatever affects the habits, opinions, or conditions of woman affects the very foundations of social and political communities. The American woman, therefore, accepts this high responsibility and holds fast the share of her resulting rights under it.....

The American is personally interested in enforcing obedience of the whole community to the law, for the natural reason that the law has originated by his own authority.....In America the opinion of the people is the opinion of the American sovereign, not the opinion voiced by the officials, for theirs is but the opinion of servants. The public press in America will tear even the Presidential opinion into pieces. This is not such a great absurdity as the minds of some might think. In some despotic nations the King's message is the message of the nation, but he who takes the message of the President of the United States as the message of the nation shows a mistaken idea of the public spirit of America.....

Their very devotion to liberty and equality, therefore, evolves an unwritten code of morals founded only upon principles of mutual interest, sympathy and assistance. The more the Americans strive for the condition of equality, the more they become ready to be of service to one another—each being influenced by a reciprocal disposition to oblige the other.

MASUJI MIYAKAWA.

WHAT THE SAGES SAY

¹ Man as a physical being is, like other bodies, governed by invariable laws. As an intelligent being he incessantly transgresses the laws established by God, and changes those which he himself has established. He is left to his own direction, though he is a limited being subject, like all finite intelligences, to ignorance and error. Even the imperfect knowledge he has he loses as a sensible creature, and is hurried away by a thousand impetuous passions. Such a being might every instant forget his Creator. God has, therefore, reminded him of his duty by the laws of religion. Such a being is liable every moment to forget himself; philosophy has provided against this by the laws of morality. Formed to live in society, he might forget his fellow creatures; legislators have therefore by political and civil laws confined him to his duty.

MONTESQUIEU.

² This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the rights of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

³ This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or

¹ From Montesquieu's "The Spirit of Laws."

² From President Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States, Sept. 17, 1796.

³ From President Lincoln's first inaugural address, March 4, 1861.

their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.....Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The people are the rightful masters of both congresses and courts, not to overthrow the constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

¹ For a long time this country of ours has lacked one of the institutions which freemen have always and everywhere held fundamental. For a long time there has been no sufficient opportunity of counsel among the people; no place and method of talk, of exchange of opinion, of parley. Communities have outgrown the folk-moot and the town-meeting. Congress in accordance with the genius of the land, which asks for action and is impatient of words,—Congress has become an institution which does its work in the privacy of committee rooms and not on the floor of the chamber; a body that makes laws,—a legislature; not a body that debates,—not a parliament.

Party conventions afford little or no opportunity for discussion; platforms are privately manufactured, and adopted with a whoop. It is partly because citizens have foregone the taking of counsel together that the unholy alliances of Bosses and Big Business have been able to assume to govern us. I conceive it to be one of the needs of the hour to restore the processes of common counsel, and to substitute them for the processes of private arrangement which now determine the policies of cities, states and nation. We must learn, we freemen, to meet as our fathers did, somehow, somewhere for consultation. There must be discussion and debate, in which all freely participate. It must be candid debate, and it must have for its honest purpose the clearing up of questions and the establishing of the truth. Too much political discussion is not to honest purpose, but only for the confounding of an opponent.....It is a misfortune that attends the party system that in the heat of a campaign partisan passions are so aroused that we cannot have frank dicussion.....No party has ever deserved quite the abuse that each party has got in turn, and nobody has ever deserved the praise that both parties have got in turn.....

There is a movement on foot in which, in common with many men and women who love their country, I am greatly interested,—the move-

¹ Extracts from "The New Freedom" by President Wilson.

ment to open the schoolhouse to the grown-up people in order that they may gather and talk over the affairs of the neighborhood and the State.....These buildings belong to the public. Why not insist everywhere that they be used as places of discussion, such as of old took place in the town-meetings to which everybody went and where every public officer was freely called to account? The schoolhouse, which belongs to all of us, is a natural place in which to gather to consult over our common affairs.....When in addition to sending our children to school to paid teachers, we go to school to one another in those same schoolhouses, then we shall begin more fully to realize than we ever have realized before what American life is. And let me tell you this, confidentially, that wherever you find school boards that object to opening the schoolhouses in the evening for public meetings of every proper sort, you had better look around for some politician who is objecting to it; because the thing that cures bad politics is talk by the neighbors.....So keep the air clear with constant discussion.....and, above all things else, take these great fundamental questions of your lives with which political platforms concern themselves and search them through by every process of debate. Then we shall have a clear air in which we shall see our way to each kind of social betterment.

WOODROW WILSON.

The life forces of Nature lie outside of us, and are unknown to us. We call these forces gravity, inertia, electricity, vital force and so on: but the life-force of man is recognized by us, and we call it Freedom.

TOLSTOI.

¹ When I consider all the Commonwealths that be nowadays, so help me God!, I can see nothing but a conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name of the Commonwealth.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Men are not corrupted by the exercise of power, or debased by the habit of obedience; but by the exercise of a power which they believe to be illegitimate, and by obedience to a rule which they consider to be usurped and oppressive.

DE TOCQUEVILLE.

The various occurrences of national existence have everywhere turned to the advantage of democracy. All men have aided it by their exertions, both those who have intentionally labored in its cause, and

¹ Uttered more than four hundred years ago.

those who have served it unwittingly. Those who have fought for it, and those who have declared themselves its opponents, have all been driven along in the same track, have all labored to one end; some ignorantly and some unwillingly, all have been blind instruments in the hands of God. The gradual development of the principle of equality is, therefore, a Providential fact. It has all the chief characteristics of such a fact: it is universal, it is durable, it constantly eludes all human interference, and all events, as well as all men, contribute to its progress.

Would it then be wise to imagine that a social movement, the causes of which lie so far back, can be checked by the efforts of one generation? Can it be believed that the democracy which has overthrown the feudal system, and vanquished kings, will retreat before tradesmen and capitalists? Will it stop now that it has grown so strong, and its adversaries so weak?

DE TOCQUEVILLE.

It is of great importance in a republic, not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers, but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part.

JAMES MADISON,
In "The Federalist."

Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been, and ever will be pursued until it be obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit. In a society under the forms of which the stronger faction can readily unite and oppress the weaker, anarchy may as truly be said to reign as in a state of nature, where the weaker individual is not secured against the violence of the stronger. And, as in the latter state, even the stronger individuals are prompted by the uncertainty of their condition to submit to a government which may protect the weak as well as themselves, so, in the former state, will the more powerful factions be gradually induced by a like motive to wish for a government which will protect all parties, the weaker as well as the more powerful.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
In "The Federalist."

The executive power in our government is not the only, perhaps not even the principal, object of my solicitude. The tyranny of the legislature is really the danger most to be feared, and will continue to be so for many years to come. The tyranny of the executive power will come in its turn, but at a more distant period.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The freest government cannot long endure when the tendency of the laws is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of a few, and to render the masses poor and dependent.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

¹ In my own country we are growing more and more to believe that the only safe rule in a democracy is to give the people themselves the right, after due deliberation, to decide finally on every subject which they deem of vital importance. The public servants—legislators, executives and judges alike—must be in very fact the servants of the people. The people must have the right to make and unmake these public servants, in order to hold them strictly accountable for their stewardship. They must also have the right on their own initiative to pass upon laws which the legislature has passed or which it has refused to pass, if the legislature does not correctly represent them. Finally, the people must not surrender to the judiciary, any more than to the executive or legislative branches of the government, the final decision as to what laws they are to be permitted to have. In my own country it often happens that vitally necessary and important laws demanded in the interests of the people, are declared unconstitutional by a reactionary court. In such a case what really happens is that one agent of the people, the legislature, passes the law, and another agent of the people, the court, declares that it has not the power to pass it. The remedy in such a case is obvious. When two agents differ, the principal must decide between them. The people are the masters of all their governmental agents, if there is any sincerity in our belief in democracy. Where their servants, their agents, disagree, the people themselves should have the right to step in and say which of their two servants, the court or the legislature, represents their deliberate and well-thought out conviction.....

There are few evils greater than a divided sovereignty, where no one can say in whose hands the final power is lodged. Men who fear and distrust the people, and yet dare not openly avow their fear and distrust, constantly endeavor, under the forms of democracy, to rob the people of all real power by one or the other of these two devices. They give the people the form of sovereignty, but they lodge the power of sovereignty elsewhere. This is a grave evil. Nominally to give the people the sovereignty, and at the same time covertly to withdraw it from them, means a weakening of the spring of responsibility in the

¹ Extracts from an address by Theodore Roosevelt at Buenos Ayres, Nov. 7, 1913.—“The Outlook,” Nov. 15, 1913.

people. In my own country this expedient is especially favored by certain great privileged interests, who for two generations have sought to place sovereignty in the courts, and to give them a political and non-judicial power, in order to lodge this power in the hands of those who cannot be held accountable by the people for its exercise.

In the United States the courts have gradually assumed certain powers which are purely political. These powers are in no sense judicial. They are not such as courts in European countries exercise. In consequence, it is necessary to provide for popular control over the exercise of these powers by the courts. Such concern is not merely wise, but indispensably necessary where the functions exercised are legislative and political. In the United States the courts have assumed to be the special interpreters of the Constitution. They have assumed the right to say what the people are, and what they are not, to be allowed to do in providing social and industrial justice; and this without appeal from the decision of the court, which is to be accepted as final. Nowadays many well-meaning and sincere judges have grown to regard themselves as having a God-given right to declare on their own responsibility what laws the people are to be allowed to enact. This is an intolerable position. The people must be in fact, and not merely nominally, the masters of their own destiny; and in our country we have found by actual experiment that they can be more safely intrusted with their own destinies than can any group of outsiders.

The trouble which has been caused in the United States by the use of the courts in the interest of special privilege to block the cause of social and industrial justice is a problem almost exclusively of our own country. It is, however, of interest to all democracies as showing how important it is that the people shall not let the control of governmental matters slip out of their own hands. It was not until a very great man—Marshall—became Chief Justice that the Federal Court began seriously to arrogate to itself the right, a negative but vitally important right, to say whether or not the legislature had the power to pass laws which the Court did not regard as proper under the Constitution. The assertion of this right at once overthrew the theory that each of the three different departments of government was supreme in itself. If the Supreme Court of the United States has the power to annul acts of Congress, it is itself not merely a judicial, but a law-making, power of the first consequence, for it is the final, the sovereign, authority. This is a tremendous authority. The right to

annul the law or to change it—as by judicial decision the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution has been vitally and, as I hold, lamentably changed—is the right to govern. The authority that is able to say by what laws the people shall be governed is the sovereign authority in the State. For sixty years the greatest Presidents—Jefferson, Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln—opposed this doctrine as laid down by the Supreme Court.....

For a third of a century it [the power of the Supreme Court] has now been exercised with what I am forced to say, speaking gravely and deliberately, has been inexcusable and reckless wantonness, on behalf of privilege, and against the interests of the very people for whom it is most needful that the power of the Government should be invoked.We deny the right of the Courts to annul laws which the people desire, because these laws do not accord with the economic ideas of the judiciary. We hold that the people have the right at all times and under all conditions to say by what laws they are to be governed, and that those who deny this theory are not loyal to the theory of republicanism. [Democracy].

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

NOTE—My apology to the busy reader for quoting at such length from this notable address of President Roosevelt, is that thus far he is the only one of our greater public men who has had the courage to point out in such clear-cut and unmistakable language the most alarming menace, it seems to me, that just now threatens the stability of our governmental institutions. When the people begin to lose faith in the integrity of our courts, as they unquestionably have of late, the foundations of the Republic are dangerously undermined. When the people begin to doubt that even-handed justice is being dispensed by the blind goddess, there is grave danger of revolt. (The Author.)

¹ A country is owned and dominated by the capital that is invested in it.....The plans of the modern world are made in the counting-house. The men that do the business of the world now shape the destinies of the world; and peace, or war, is now, in a large measure, in the hands of those who conduct the commerce of the world.

WOODROW WILSON.

¹ Extract from President Wilson's address in responding to an address by the Mayor of Turin, Italy, as reported by the Associated Press in the metropolitan press of the United States, January 8, 1919.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

Forward, not backward, is the great watchword of progress. Powerful and irresistible forces, whose strength and magnitude no statesman can accurately measure are impelling us toward an unrevealed future.

Whether an unborn Gibbon shall chronicle the "Decline and Fall" of this nation, or whether we shall go forward towards a goal ever higher and higher in human achievement, will depend in large measure upon the fidelity with which we of this generation advance the sacred cause of freedom which the fathers have handed down to us. Let us hope that our abilities will be commensurate with the tasks that confront us.

The following are some of the major questions that thoughtful observers are becoming aware will sooner or later have to be settled at the ballot-box, in order to abolish social and industrial unrest, and to insure the stability of the republic. Their solution cannot be postponed much longer, if we are to avert a violent social upheaval.

¹ Question 1. Shall public utilities—the means of transportation, communication, and general public service—continue to be controlled and operated by a small minority of the commonwealth for their private profit; or shall we have service of the public, by the public, for the public, *without private profit*?

Question 2. Shall we as a nation continue to allow our natural resources—forests, waterpowers, coal, oil, and other minerals—to be grasped, exploited and wasted by a small greedy minority who give no thought to the future; or shall we recognize and insist that these are "God's gifts to all men," and take thought for those who are to come after us?

Question 3. Shall industry continue to be dominated by organized capital for the enrichment of the few; or shall those who toil in field and factory be compensated in full for their contributions to our national wealth?

Question 4. Shall we continue to create a growing, dependent majority who live on the very margin of subsistence; or shall we so modify our present industrial system that the toilers of the nation

¹ To the Reader: If you favor concerted action on any or all of these four questions send your name and post-office address to H. O. Palen, 179 South Cherry Street, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

may be kept from want and the humiliation of charity doles, when their productive years have passed?

In our attempts to solve these perplexing questions, let us bear in mind Lincoln's sage advice that "Nothing is ever settled, until it is settled right."

Let us then go forward with the high hope that there exists in the American people a latent reserve of force and patriotism sufficient to overcome all of the shortcomings of which we now complain, and that we may yet reach heights that will make us worthy sons and daughters of the fathers and mothers who gave us our priceless heritage.

¹ Thou, too, Sail on O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast and sail and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee,—are all with thee!

LONGFELLOW.

¹ From Longfellow's "Building of the Ship."

THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE

The jockeying for advantage in the get-away is finally over. The starter's flag has dropped. They're off! And the race is on.

Each of the two major parties has taken the usual "View-with-alarm" whack at the principles and policies of the other, and discharged its deadly gas of invective and scorn with the customary withering contempt, thus giving them an even start in this respect.

One searches in vain among the heavy planks of the ponderous platforms for any "sparkling gems of thought" that might have got lodged in their interstices. Likewise, a careful scanning of the needlessly long and wordy candidates' speeches of acceptance fails to disclose any scintillations of genius that give promise of statesmanship of a high order.

Discerning critics and editors of the independent press comment on the lack of any marked difference between the platform utterances of the two major parties on the paramount issue. In its leading editorial in a recent issue, one of these inquires: "What is the great issue between the major political parties in the coming Presidential campaign? The League of Nations of course. Dissenters of influence, near-bolters, pause for pronouncements of the platforms and the candidates on this overshadowing issue. Newspaper editorial comment thereon, if laid end to end, would reach to—perhaps only an Einstein can answer. Yet here is the New York *Tribune*, inherently and dyed-in-the-wool Republican, unqualified supporter of the Grand Old Party, affirming editorially that:

"The truth is, disregarding rhetorical surplusages, the two platforms are much alike touching the League matter. The Republican platform is for an association of nations within the limits of the Constitution, such as our associates will agree to. The San Francisco platform is for a league within the limits of the Constitution, and with such reservations as our allies will accept. The difference, as has been repeatedly noted in these columns, is but microscopic.' Issue? Well, then, the personality of the candidates. Forgetting those 1912 anti-Roosevelt invectives of the Marion *Star*, Harding is 'at least the kind of a man who will surround himself with ——.' Yes; clearly the difference in character of the candidates is what counts. And lo! one turns to a full-page cartoon by Jay N. Darling—'Ding,' beloved car-

toonist of *The Tribune*, and moulder of opinion in not less than seventy-nine other newspapers throughout the land—which depicts Harding and Cox as two peas in a pod, with text so proclaiming them.”

Perhaps the forward-looking voter may find some crumbs of comfort in one or all of the other four parties' platforms whose entries for the great quadrennial race will probably be among the “also rans” when the contending nominees have passed under the wire.

PARTY PLATFORMS FOR 1920

In the following pages are given the Platforms of the six regularly organized Political Parties that are appealing to American voters for their support at the ballot-box in this Presidential election. These are printed without comment or suggestion from texts furnished by the National Campaign Committees of the several party organizations, for the information and guidance of our readers.

PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY 1920

Adopted by the Republican National Convention
Chicago, June 10, 1920

The Republican Party, assembled in representative national convention, reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution of the United States, and to the guarantees of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained. It will resist all attempts to overthrow the foundations of the government or to weaken the force of its controlling principles and ideals, whether these attempts be made in the form of international policy or domestic agitation.

For seven years the national government has been controlled by the Democratic Party. During that period a war of unparalleled magnitude has shaken the foundations of civilization, decimated the population of Europe, and left in its train economic misery and suffering second only to the war itself.

The outstanding features of the Democratic administration have been complete unpreparedness for war and complete unpreparedness for peace.

UNPREPAREDNESS FOR WAR

Inexcusable failure to make timely preparation is the chief indictment against the Democratic administration in the conduct of the war. Had not our Associates protected us, both on land and sea, during the first twelve months of our participation, and furnished us to the very day of the Armistice with munitions, planes and artillery, this failure would have been punished with disaster. It directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself, and in an enormous waste of public funds literally poured into the breach created by gross neglect. Today it is reflected in our huge tax burden and in the high cost of living.

UNPREPAREDNESS FOR PEACE

Peace found the Administration as unprepared for peace as war found it unprepared for war. The vital needs of the country demanded the early and systematic return to a peace-time basis.

This called for vision, leadership and intelligent planning. All three have been lacking. While the country has been left to shift for itself, the Government has continued on a war-time basis. The Administration has not demobilized the army of place holders. It continued a method of financing which was indefensible during the period of reconstruction. It has used legislation passed to meet the emergency of war to continue its arbitrary and inquisitorial control over the life of the people in time of peace, and to carry confusion into industrial life. Under the despot's plea of necessity or superior wisdom, executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions still undermines our institutions. Eighteen

months after the Armistice, with its war-time powers unabridged, its war-time departments undischarged, its war-time army of place holders still mobilized, the Administration continues to flounder helplessly.

The demonstrated incapacity of the Democratic Party has destroyed public confidence, weakened the authority of the government, and produced a feeling of distrust and hesitation so universal as to increase enormously the difficulties of readjustment and to delay the return to normal conditions.

Never has our nation been confronted with graver problems. The people are entitled to know in definite terms how the parties purpose solving these problems. To that end, the Republican Party declares its policies and program to be as follows :

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

We undertake to end executive autocracy and to restore to the people their constitutional government.

The policies herein declared will be carried out by the federal and state governments, each acting within its constitutional powers.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The foreign policy of the Administration has been founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice, our motives are suspected, our moral influence impaired, and our Government stands discredited and friendless among the nations of the world.

We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy founded upon definite moral and political principles, characterized by a clear understanding of and a firm adherence to our own rights, and unfailing respect for the rights of others. We should afford full and adequate protection to the life, liberty, property and all international rights of every American citizen, and should require a proper respect for the American flag ; but we should be equally careful to manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations. A scrupulous observance of our international engagements when lawfully assumed is essential to our own honor and self-respect, and the respect of other nations. Subject to a due regard for our international obligations, we should leave our country free to develop its civilization along lines most conducive to the happiness and welfare of its people, and to cast its influence on the side of justice and right should occasion require.

(a) MEXICO

The ineffective policy of the present Administration in Mexican matters has been largely responsible for the continued loss of American lives in that country and upon our border ; for the enormous loss of American and foreign property ; for the lowering of American standards of morality and social relations with Mexicans, and for the bringing of American ideals of justice, national honor and political integrity into contempt and ridicule in Mexico and throughout the world.

The policy of wordy, futile written protests against the acts of Mexican officials, explained the following day by the President himself as being meaningless and not intended to be considered seriously, or enforced, has but added in degree to that contempt, and has earned for us the sneers and jeers of Mexican bandits, and added insult upon insult against our national honor and dignity.

We should not recognize any Mexican government, unless it be a responsible government willing and able to give sufficient guarantees that the lives and property of American citizens are respected and protected; that wrongs will be promptly corrected and just compensation will be made for injury sustained. The Republican Party pledges itself to a consistent, firm and effective policy towards Mexico that shall enforce respect for the American flag and that shall protect the rights of American citizens lawfully in Mexico to security of life and enjoyment of property, in accordance with established principles of international law and our treaty rights.

The Republican Party is a sincere friend of the Mexican people. In its insistence upon the maintenance of order for the protection of American citizens within its borders a great service will be rendered the Mexican people themselves; for a continuation of present conditions means disaster to their interests and patriotic aspirations.

(b) MANDATE FOR ARMENIA

We condemn President Wilson for asking Congress to empower him to accept a mandate for Armenia. We commend the Republican Senate for refusing the President's request to empower him to accept the mandate for Armenia. The acceptance of such mandate would throw the United States into the very maelstrom of European quarrels. According to the estimate of the Harbord Commission, organized by authority of President Wilson, we would be called upon to send 59,000 American boys to police Armenia and to expend \$276,000,000 in the first year and \$756,000,000 in five years. This estimate is made upon the basis that we would have only roving bands to fight; but in case of serious trouble with the Turks or with Russia, a force exceeding 200,000 would be necessary.

No more striking illustration can be found of President Wilson's disregard of the lives of American boys or of American interests.

We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia and stand ready to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican Party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

(c) LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Republican Party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice, and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war.

We believe that all this can be done without the compromise of national independence, without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peace-makers in a multitude of quarrels, the merits of which they are unable to judge.

The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signally to accomplish this great purpose, and contains stipulations, not only intolerable for an inde-

pendent people, but certain to produce the injustice, hostility and controversy among nations which it is proposed to prevent.

That covenant repudiated, to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable, the time-honored policies in favor of peace declared by Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe, and pursued by all American administrations for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiment of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiation.

The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way, without any change and without any regard to the opinions of a majority of the Senate, which shares with him in the treaty-making power, and the President's demand that the Treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths according to their judgment against the Treaty as it was presented, or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority and the responsibility under the Constitution were theirs, and not his.

The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity. And we pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreements with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity, in accordance with American ideals, and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

CONGRESS AND RECONSTRUCTION

Despite the unconstitutional and dictatorial course of the President and the partisan obstruction of the Democratic Congressional minority, the Republican majority has enacted a program of constructive legislation which in great part, however, has been nullified by the vindictive vetoes of the President.

The Republican Congress has met the problems presented by the Administration's unpreparedness for peace. It has repealed the greater part of the vexatious war legislation. It has enacted a Transportation Act making possible the rehabilitation of the railroad systems of the country, the operation of which under the present Democratic Administration, has been wasteful, extravagant and inefficient in the highest degree. The Transportation Act made provision for the peaceful settlement of wage disputes, partially nullified, however, by the President's delay in appointing the Wage Board created by the act. This delay precipitated the outlaw railroad strike.

We stopped the flood of public treasure, recklessly poured into the lap of an inept Shipping Board, and laid the foundations for the creation of a great merchant marine; we took from the incompetent Democratic Administration the administration of the telegraph and telephone lines of the country and returned them to private ownership; we reduced the cost of postage and increased the pay of the postal employees—the poorest paid of all public servants; we provided pensions for superannuated and retired civil servants; and for an increase in pay of soldiers and sailors. We reorganized the Army on a peace footing, and provided for the maintenance of a powerful and efficient Navy.

The Republican Congress established by law a permanent Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor; we submitted to the country the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, and furnished twenty-nine of the thirty-five legislatures which have ratified it to date.

Legislation for the relief of the consumers of print paper, for the extension of the powers of the government under the Food Control Act, for broadening the scope of the War Risk Insurance Act, better provision for the dwindling number of aged veterans of the Civil War and for the better support of the maimed and injured of the Great War, and for making practical the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, has been enacted by the Republican Congress.

We passed an oil leasing and water power bill to unlock for the public good the great pent-up resources of the country; we have sought to check the profligacy of the Administration, to realize upon the assets of the government and to husband the revenues derived from taxation. The Republicans in Congress have been responsible for cuts in the estimates for government expenditure of nearly \$3,000,000,000, since the signing of the Armistice.

We enacted a national executive budget law; we strengthened the Federal Reserve Act to permit banks to lend needed assistance to farmers; we authorized financial incorporations to develop export trade; and finally, amended the rules of the Senate and House, which will reform evils in procedure and guarantee more efficient and responsible government.

AGRICULTURE

The farmer is the backbone of the nation. National greatness and economic independence demand a population distributed between industry and the farm, and sharing on equal terms the prosperity which is wholly dependent upon the efforts of both. Neither can prosper at the expense of the other without inviting joint disaster.

The crux of the present agricultural condition lies in prices, labor and credit.

The Republican Party believes that this condition can be improved by: practical and adequate farm representation in the appointment of governmental officials and commissions; the right to form co-operative associations for marketing their products, and protection against discrimination; the scientific study of agricultural prices and farm production costs, at home and abroad, with a view to reducing the frequency of abnormal fluctuations; the uncensored publication of such reports; the authorization of associations for the extension of personal credit; a national inquiry on the co-ordination of rail, water and motor transportation with adequate facilities for receiving, handling and marketing food; the encouragement of our export trade; an end to unnecessary price-fixing and ill considered efforts arbitrarily to reduce prices of farm products which invariably result to the disadvantage both of producer and consumer; and the encouragement of the production and importation of fertilizing material and of its extensive use.

The Federal Farm Loan Act should be so administered as to facilitate the acquisition of farm land by those desiring to become owners and proprietors and thus minimize the evils of farm tenantry, and to furnish such long time credits as farmers may need to finance adequately their larger and long time production operations.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

There are two different conceptions of the relations of capital and labor. The one is contractual and emphasizes the diversity of interests of employer and employee. The other is that of co-partnership in a common task.

We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employers and employees, and realizing the true ends of industrial justice.

The strike or the lockout, as a means of settling industrial disputes, inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify government initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences.

We deny the right to strike against the government; but the rights and interests of all government employees must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals.

In public utilities we favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to render a decision to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service necessary to the lives, health and welfare of the people. The decisions of the tribunals should be morally but not legally binding, and an informed public sentiment be relied on to secure their acceptance. The tribunals, however, should refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the purpose of investigation, as long as the public service be interrupted. For public utilities we favor the type of tribunal provided for in the Transportation Act of 1920.

In private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration, supplemented by that full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The Government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commissions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and of investigation of disputed issues.

We demand the exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

A Republican Congress reduced the estimates submitted by the Administration almost three billion dollars. Greater economies could have been effected had it not been for the stubborn refusal of the Administration to co-operate with Congress in an economy program. The universal demand for an executive budget is a recognition of the incontrovertible fact that leadership and sincere assistance on the part of the executive departments are essential to effective economy and constructive retrenchment.

The Overman Act invested the President of the United States with all the authority and power necessary to restore the Federal Government to a normal peace basis and to reorganize, retrench and demobilize. The dominant fact is that eighteen months after the Armistice, the United States Government is still on a war-time basis, and the expenditure program of the Executive reflects war-time extravagance rather than rigid peace-time economy.

As an example of the failure to retrench which has characterized the post-war policy of the Administration, we cite the fact that not including the War and Navy Departments, the executive departments and other establishments at Washington actually record an increase subsequent to the Armistice of 2,184 employees. The net decrease in payroll costs contained in the 1921 demands submitted by the Administration is only one per cent. under that of 1920. The annual expenses of the Federal Government can be reduced hundreds of millions of dollars without impairing the efficiency of the public service.

We pledge ourselves to a carefully planned readjustment to a peace-time basis and to a policy of rigid economy, to the better co-ordination of departmental activities, to the elimination of unnecessary officials and employees, and to the raising of the standard of individual efficiency.

THE EXECUTIVE BUDGET

We congratulate the Republican Congress on the enactment of a law providing for the establishment of an Executive Budget as a necessary instrument for a sound and business-like administration of the national finances; and we condemn the veto of the President which defeated this great financial reform.

REORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND BUREAUS

We advocate a thorough investigation of the present organization of the Federal departments and bureaus, with a view to securing consolidation, a more business-like distribution of functions, the elimination of duplication, delays and over-lapping of work, and the establishment of an up-to-date and efficient administrative organization.

WAR POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

The President clings tenaciously to his autocratic war time powers. His veto of the Resolution declaring peace and his refusal to sign the bill repealing war-time legislation, no longer necessary, evidence his determination not to restore to the Nation and to the States the form of government provided for by the Constitution. This usurpation is intolerable and deserves the severest condemnation.

TAXATION

The burden of taxation imposed upon the American people is staggering; but in presenting a true statement of the situation we must face the fact that, while the character of the taxes can and should be changed, an early reduction of the amount of revenue to be raised is not to be expected. The next Republican administration will inherit from its Democratic predecessor a floating indebtedness of over three billion dollars, the prompt liquidation of which is demanded by sound financial considerations. Moreover, the whole fiscal policy of the Government must be deeply influenced by the necessity of meeting obligations in excess of five billion dollars which mature in 1923. But sound policy equally demands the early accomplishment of that real reduction of the tax burden which may be achieved by substituting simple for complex tax laws and procedure; prompt and certain determination of the tax liability for delay and uncertainty; tax laws which do not, for tax laws which do, excessively mulct the consumer or needlessly repress enterprise and thrift.

We advocate the issuance of a simplified form of income return; authorizing the Treasury Department to make changes in regulations effective only from the date of their approval; empowering the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the consent of the taxpayer, to make final and conclusive settlements of tax claims and assessments barring fraud, and the creation of a Tax Board consisting of at least three representatives of the tax-paying public and the heads of the principal divisions of the Bureau of Internal Revenue to act as a standing committee on the simplification of forms, procedure and law, and to make recommendations to the Congress.

BANKING AND CURRENCY

The fact is that the war, to a great extent, was financed by a policy of inflation through certificate borrowing from the banks, and bonds issued at artificial rates sustained by the low discount rates established by the Federal Reserve Board. The continuance of this policy since the Armistice lays the Administration open to severe criticism. Almost up to the present time, the practices of the Federal Reserve Board as to credit control have been frankly dominated by the convenience of the Treasury.

The results have been a greatly increased war cost, a serious loss to the millions of people who in good faith bought Liberty Bonds and Victory Notes at par, and extensive post-war speculation, followed today by a restricted credit for legitimate industrial expansion. As a matter of public policy, we urge all banks to give credit preference to essential industries.

The Federal Reserve System should be free from political influence, which is quite as important as its independence of domination by financial combinations.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

The prime cause of the "High Cost of Living" has been first and foremost, a fifty per cent. depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar, due to a gross expansion of our currency and credit. Reduced production, burdensome taxation, swollen profits, and the increased demand for goods arising from a fictitious but enlarged buying power have been contributing causes in a greater or less degree.

We condemn the unsound fiscal policies of the Democratic administration which have brought these things to pass, and their attempts to impute the consequences to minor and secondary causes. Much of the injury wrought is irreparable. There is no short way out, and we decline to deceive the people with vain promises or quack remedies. But as the political party that throughout its history has stood for honest money and sound finance, we pledge ourselves to earnest and consistent attack upon the high cost of living by rigorous avoidance of further inflation in our government borrowing, by courageous and intelligent deflation of over-expanded credit and currency, by encouragement of heightened production of goods and services, by prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift and by revision of war imposed taxes unsuited to peace-time economy.

PROFITEERING

We condemn the Democratic administration for failure impartially to enforce the anti-profiteering laws enacted by the Republican Congress.

RAILROADS

We are opposed to government ownership and operation or employee operation of the railroads. In view of the conditions prevailing in this country, the experience of the last two years, and the conclusions which may fairly be drawn from an observation of the transportation systems of other countries, it is clear that adequate transportation service both for the present and future can be furnished more certainly, economically and efficiently through private ownership and operation under proper regulation and control.

There should be no speculative profit in rendering the service of transportation; but in order to do justice to the capital already invested in railway enterprises, to restore railway credit, to induce future investment at a reasonable rate, and to furnish enlarged facilities to meet the requirements of the constantly increasing development and distribution, a fair return upon actual value of the railway property used in transportation should be made reasonably sure, and at the same time provide constant employment to those engaged in transportation service, with fair hours and favorable working conditions, at wages or compensation at least equal to those prevailing in similar lines of industry.

We endorse the Transportation Act of 1920 enacted by the Republican Congress as a most constructive legislative achievement.

WATERWAYS

We declare it to be our policy to encourage and develop water transportation service and facilities in connection with the commerce of the United States.

REGULATION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

We approve in general the existing Federal legislation against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade, but since the known certainty of a law is the safety of all, we advocate such amendment as will provide American business men with better means of determining in advance whether a proposed combination is or is not unlawful. The Federal Trade Commission, under a Democratic administration, has not accomplished the purpose for which it was created. This Commission properly organized and its duties efficiently administered should afford protection to the public and legitimate business interests. There should be no persecution of honest business, but to the extent that circumstances warrant we pledge ourselves to strengthen the law against unfair practices.

We pledge the party to an immediate resumption of trade relations with every nation with which we are at peace.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND TARIFF

The uncertain and unsettled condition of international balances, the abnormal economic and trade situation of the world, and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future, preclude the formulation of a definite program to meet conditions a year hence. But the Republican Party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture and industry.

MERCHANT MARINE

The national defense and our foreign commerce require a merchant marine of the best type of modern ship flying the American flag, manned by American seamen, owned by private capital, and operated by private energy. We endorse the sound legislation recently enacted by the Republican Congress that will insure the promotion and maintenance of the American merchant marine.

We favor the application of the Workmen's Compensation Acts to the merchant marine.

We recommend that all ships engaged in coastwise trade and all vessels of the American merchant marine shall pass through the Panama Canal without payment of tolls.

IMMIGRATION

The standard of living and the standard of citizenship of a nation are its most precious possessions, and the preservation and elevation of those standards is the first duty of our government. The immigration policy of the United States should be such as to insure that the number of foreigners in the country at any time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable rapidity, and to favor immigrants whose standards are similar to ours.

The selective tests that are at present applied should be improved by requiring a higher physical standard, a more complete exclusion of mental defectives and of criminals, and a more effective inspection applied as near the source of immigration as possible, as well as at the port of entry. Justice to the foreigner and to ourselves demands provision for the guidance, protection and better economic distribution of our alien population. To facilitate government supervision, all aliens should be required to register annually until they become naturalized.

The existing policy of the United States for the practical exclusion of Asiatic immigrants is sound, and should be maintained.

NATURALIZATION

There is urgent need of improvement in our naturalization law. No alien should become a citizen until he has become genuinely American, and adequate tests for determining the alien's fitness for American citizenship should be provided for by law.

We advocate, in addition, the independent naturalization of married women. An American woman, resident in the United States, should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien.

FREE SPEECH AND ALIEN AGITATION

We demand that every American citizen shall enjoy the ancient and constitutional right of free speech, free press and free assembly and the no less sacred right of the qualified voter to be represented by his duly chosen representatives; but no man may advocate resistance to the law, and no man may advocate violent overthrow of the government.

Aliens within the jurisdiction of the United States are not entitled of right to liberty of agitation directed against the government or American institutions.

Every government has the power to exclude and deport those aliens who constitute a real menace to its peaceful existence. But in view of the large numbers of people affected by the immigration acts and in view of the vigorous malpractice of the Departments of Justice and Labor, an adequate public hearing before a competent administrative tribunal should be assured to all.

LYNCHING

We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country which continues to be a terrible blot on our American civilization.

PUBLIC ROADS AND HIGHWAYS

We favor liberal appropriations in co-operation with the States for the construction of highways, which will bring about a reduction in transportation costs, better marketing of farm products, improvement in rural postal delivery, as well as meet the needs of military defense.

In determining the proportion of Federal aid for road construction among the States, the sums lost in taxation to the respective States by the setting apart of large portions of their area as forest reservations should be considered as a controlling factor.

CONSERVATION

Conservation is a Republican policy. It began with the passage of the Reclamation Act signed by President Roosevelt. The recent passage of the coal, oil and phosphate leasing act by a Republican Congress and the enactment of the waterpower bill fashioned in accordance with the same principle, are consistent landmarks in the development of the conservation of our national resources. We denounce the refusal of the President to sign the waterpower bill, passed after ten years of controversy. The Republican Party has taken an especially honorable part in saving our national forests and in the effort to establish a national forest policy. Our most pressing conservation question relates to our forests. We are using our forest resources faster than they are being renewed. The result is to raise unduly the cost of forest products to consumers and especially farmers, who use more than half the lumber produced in America, and in the end to create a timber famine. The Federal Government, the States and private interests must unite in devising means to meet the menace.

RECLAMATION

We favor a fixed and comprehensive policy of reclamation to increase national wealth and production.

We recognize in the development of reclamation through Federal action with its increase of production and taxable wealth a safeguard for the nation.

We commend to Congress a policy to reclaim lands and the establishment of a fixed national policy of development of natural resources in relation to reclamation through the now designated government agencies.

ARMY AND NAVY

We feel the deepest pride in the fine courage, the resolute endurance, the gallant spirit of the officers and men of our army and navy in the World War. They were in all ways worthy of the best traditions of the nation's defenders, and we pledge ourselves to proper maintenance of the military and naval establishments upon which our national security and dignity depend.

THE SERVICE MEN

We hold in imperishable remembrance the valor and the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of America who fought in the great war for human liberty, and we pledge ourselves to discharge to the fullest the obligations which a grateful nation justly should fulfill, in appreciation of the services rendered by its defenders on sea and on land.

Republicans are not ungrateful. Throughout their history they have shown their gratitude toward the nation's defenders. Liberal legislation for the care of the disabled and infirm and their dependents has ever marked Republican policy toward the soldier and sailor of all the wars in which our country has participated. The present Congress has appropriated generously for the disabled of the World War.

The amounts already applied and authorized for the fiscal year 1920-21 for this purpose reached the stupendous sum of \$1,180,571,893. This legislation is

significant of the party's purpose in generously caring for the maimed and disabled men of the recent war.

CIVIL SERVICE

We renew our repeated declaration that the civil service law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The recent action of Congress in enacting a comprehensive civil service retirement law and in working out a comprehensive employment and wage policy that will guarantee equal and just treatment to the army of government workers, and in centralizing the administration of the new and progressive employment policy in the hands of the Civil Service Commission is worthy of all praise.

POSTAL SERVICE

We condemn the present administration for its destruction of the efficiency of the postal service, and the telegraph and telephone service when controlled by the government and for its failure to properly compensate employees whose expert knowledge is essential to the proper conduct of the affairs of the postal system. We commend the Republican Congress for the enactment of legislation increasing the pay of postal employees, who up to that time were the poorest paid in the government service.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican Party. We earnestly hope that Republican legislatures in states which have not yet acted on the Suffrage Amendment will ratify the amendment, to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920 which is so important to the welfare of our country.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlightened measure of social and industrial justice. Although the federal jurisdiction over social problems is limited, they affect the welfare and interest of the nation as a whole. We pledge the Republican Party to the solution of these problems through national and state legislation in accordance with the best progressive thought of the country.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

We endorse the principle of Federal aid to the States for the purposes of vocational and agricultural training.

Wherever Federal money is devoted to education, such education must be so directed as to awaken in the youth the spirit of America and a sense of patriotic duty to the United States.

A thorough system of physical education for all children up to the age of 19, including adequate health supervision and instruction, would remedy conditions revealed by the draft and would add to the economic and industrial strength of the nation. National leadership and stimulation will be necessary to induce the States to adopt a wise system of physical training.

The public health activities of the Federal government are scattered through numerous departments and bureaus, resulting in inefficiency, duplication and extravagance. We advocate a greater centralization of the Federal functions, and

in addition urge the better co-ordination of the work of the Federal, State and local health agencies.

CHILD LABOR

The Republican Party stands for a Federal child labor law and for its rigid enforcement. If the present law be found unconstitutional or ineffective, we shall seek other means to enable Congress to prevent the evils of child labor.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Women have special problems of employment which make necessary special study. We commend Congress for the permanent establishment of the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor to serve as a source of information to the States and to Congress.

The principle of equal pay for equal service should be applied throughout all branches of the Federal government in which women are employed.

Federal aid for vocational training should take into consideration the special aptitudes and needs of women workers.

We demand Federal legislation to limit the hours of employment of women engaged in intensive industry, the product of which enters into interstate commerce.

HOUSING

The housing shortage has not only compelled careful study of ways of stimulating building, but it has brought into relief the unsatisfactory character of the housing accommodations of large numbers of the inhabitants of our cities. A nation of home owners is the best guaranty of the maintenance of those principles of liberty, law and order upon which our government is founded. Both national and state governments should encourage in all proper ways the acquiring of homes by our citizens. The United States Government should make available the valuable information on housing and town planning collected during the war. This information should be kept up to date and made currently available.

HAWAII

For Hawaii we recommend Federal assistance in Americanizing and educating their greatly disproportionate foreign population; home rule; and the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian race.

Pointing to its history and relying on its fundamental principles, we declare that the Republican Party has the genius, courage and constructive ability to end executive usurpation and restore constitutional government; to fulfill our world obligations without sacrificing our national independence; to raise the national standards of education, health and general welfare; to re-establish a peace-time administration and to substitute economy and efficiency for extravagance and chaos; to restore and maintain the national credit; to reform unequal and burdensome taxes; to free business from arbitrary and unnecessary official control; to suppress disloyalty without the denial of justice; to repel the arrogant challenge of any class and to maintain a government of all the people as contrasted with government for some of the people, and finally, to allay unrest, suspicion and strife, and to secure the co-operation and unity of all citizens in the solution of the complex problems of the day; to the end that our country, happy and prosperous, proud of its past, sure of itself and of its institutions, may look forward with confidence to the future.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1920

Adopted by the Democratic National Convention
San Francisco, Cal., June, 1920

The platform adopted by the Democratic Party at San Francisco is a promissory note and I shall see to it that it will be paid in full every dollar and every cent.—Governor James M. Cox, Democratic Nominee for President, in address at Columbus, Ohio, July 20, 1920.

The Democratic Party, in its National Convention now assembled, sends greetings to the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, and hails with patriotic pride the great achievements for country and the world, wrought by a Democratic Administration under his leadership.

It salutes the mighty people of this great republic, emerging with imperishable honor, from the severe tests and grievous strains of the most tragic war in history, having earned the plaudits and the gratitude of all free nations.

It declares its adherence to the fundamental progressive principles of social, economic and industrial justice and advance, and purposes to resume the great work of translating these principles into effective laws, begun and carried far by the Democratic Administration and interrupted only when the war claimed all the national energies for the single task of victory.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Democratic Party favors The League of Nations as the surest, if not the only, practicable means of maintaining the peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments. It was for this that America broke away from traditional isolation and spent her blood and treasure to crush a colossal scheme of conquest. It was upon this basis that the President of the United States, in pre-arrangement with our Allies, consented to a suspension of hostilities against the Imperial German Government; the armistice was granted and a treaty of peace negotiated upon the definite assurance to Germany, as well as to the powers pitted against Germany, that "a general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenant, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." Hence, we not only congratulate the President on the vision manifested and the vigor exhibited in the prosecution of the war, but we felicitate him and his associates on the exceptional achievement at Paris involved in the adoption of a League and Treaty so near akin to previously expressed American ideals and so intimately related to the aspirations of civilized peoples everywhere.

We commend the President for his courage and his high conception of good faith in steadfastly standing for the covenant agreed to by all the associated and allied nations at war with Germany, and we condemn the Republican Senate for

its refusal to ratify the Treaty merely because it was the product of Democratic statesmanship, thus interposing partisan envy and personal hatred in the way of the peace and renewed prosperity of the world.

By every accepted standard of international morality the President is justified in asserting that the honor of the country is involved in this business; and we point to the accusing fact that, before it was determined to initiate political antagonism to the Treaty, the now Republican Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee himself publicly proclaimed that any proposition for a separate peace with Germany, such as he and his party associates thereafter reported to the Senate, would make us "guilty of the blackest crime."

On May 15 last, the Knox substitute for the Versailles Treaty was passed by the Republican Senate; and this Convention can contrive no more fitting characterization of its obloquy than that made in the Forum magazine of June, 1918, by Henry Cabot Lodge, when he said:

"If we send our armies and young men abroad to be killed and wounded in northern France and Flanders with no result but this, our entrance into war with such an intention was a crime which nothing can justify. The intent of Congress and the intent of the President was that there could be no peace until we could create a situation where no such war as this could recur. We cannot make peace except in company with our allies. It would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us also if we undertook to make a separate peace."

Thus to that which Mr. Lodge, in saner moments, considered "the blackest crime" he and his party in madness sought to give the sanctity of law; that which eighteen months ago was of "everlasting dishonor" the Republican Party and its candidates today accept as the essence of faith.

We endorse the President's view of our international obligations and his firm stand against reservations designed to cut to pieces the vital provisions of the Versailles Treaty and we commend the Democrats in Congress for voting against resolutions for separate peace which would disgrace the nation. We advocate the immediate ratification of the Treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity; but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League Associates. Only by doing this may we retrieve the reputation of this nation among the powers of the earth and recover the moral leadership which President Wilson won and which Republican politicians at Washington sacrificed. Only by doing this may we hope to aid effectively in the restoration of order throughout the world and to take the place which we should assume in the front rank of spiritual, commercial and industrial advancement.

We reject as utterly vain, if not vicious, the Republican assumption that ratification of the Treaty and membership in the League of Nations would in any wise impair the integrity or independence of our country. The fact that the Covenant has been entered into by twenty-nine nations, all as jealous of their independence as we are of ours, is a sufficient refutation of such charge. The President repeatedly has declared, and this Convention reaffirms, that all our duties and obligations as a member of the League must be fulfilled in strict conformity with the Constitution of the United States, embodied in which is the fundamental requirement of declaratory action by the Congress before this nation may become a participant in any war.

CONDUCT OF THE WAR

During the war President Wilson exhibited the very broadest conception of liberal Americanism. In his conduct of the war, as in the general administration of his high office, there was no semblance of partisan bias. He invited to Washington as his councillors and coadjutors hundreds of the most prominent and pronounced Republicans in the country. To these he committed responsibilities of the gravest import and most confidential nature. Many of them had charge of vital activities of the Government.

And yet, with the war successfully prosecuted and gloriously ended, the Republican Party in Congress, far from applauding the masterly leadership of the President and felicitating the country on the amazing achievements of the American Government, has meanly requited the considerate course of the chief magistrate by savagely defaming the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and by assailing nearly every public officer of every branch of the service intimately concerned in winning the war abroad and preserving the security of the Government at home.

We express to the soldiers and sailors and marines of America the admiration of their fellow countrymen. Guided by the genius of such commanders as General John J. Pershing, the armed forces of America constituted a decisive factor in the victory and brought new lustre to the flag.

We commend the patriotic men and women who sustained the efforts of their government in the crucial hours of the war and contributed to the brilliant administrative success achieved under the broad-visioned leadership of the President.

FINANCIAL ACHIEVEMENTS

A review of the record of the Democratic Party during the administration of Woodrow Wilson presents a chapter of substantial achievements unsurpassed in the history of the republic. For fifty years before the advent of this administration periodical convulsions had impeded the industrial progress of the American people and caused inestimable loss and distress. By the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act the old system, which bred panics, was replaced by a new system, which insured confidence. It was an indispensable factor in winning the war, and today it is the hope and inspiration of business. Indeed, one vital danger against which the American people should keep constantly on guard is the commitment of this system to partisan enemies who struggled against its adoption and vainly attempted to retain in the hands of speculative bankers a monopoly of the currency credits of the Nation. Already there are well defined indications of an assault upon the vital principles of the system in the event of Republican success in the elections in November.

Under Democratic leadership the American people successfully financed their stupendous part in the greatest war of all time. The Treasury wisely insisted during the war upon meeting an adequate portion of the war expenditure from current taxes and the bulk of the balance from popular loans, and, during the first full fiscal year after fighting stopped, upon meeting current expenditures from current receipts notwithstanding the new and unnecessary burden thrown upon the Treasury by the delay, obstruction and extravagance of a Republican Congress.

The non-partisan Federal Reserve authorities have been wholly free of political interference or motive; and, in their own time and their own way, have

used courageously, though cautiously, the instruments at their disposal to prevent undue expansion of credit in the country. As a result of these sound Treasury and Federal Reserve Policies, the inevitable war inflation has been held down to a minimum, and the cost of living has been prevented from increasing here in proportion to the increase in other belligerent countries and in neutral countries which are in close contact with the world's commerce and exchanges.

After a year and half of fighting in Europe, and despite another year and a half of Republican obstruction at home, the credit of the Government of the United States stands unimpaired, the Federal Reserve note is the unit of value throughout all the world, and the United States is the one great country in the world which maintains a free gold market.

We condemn the attempt of the Republican Party to deprive the American people of their legitimate pride in the financing of the war—an achievement without parallel in the financial history of this or any other country, in this or any other war. And in particular we condemn the pernicious attempt of the Republican Party to create discontent among the holders of the bonds of the Government of the United States and to drag our public finance and our banking and currency system back into the arena of party politics.

TAX REVISION

We condemn the failure of the present Congress to respond to the oft-repeated demand of the President and the Secretaries of the Treasury to revise the existing tax laws. The continuance in force in peace times of taxes devised under pressure of imperative necessity to produce a revenue for war purposes is indefensible and can only result in lasting injury to the people. The Republican Congress persistently failed, through sheer political cowardice, to make a single move toward a readjustment of tax laws which it denounced before the last election and was afraid to revise before the next election.

We advocate tax reform and a searching revision of the War Revenue Acts to fit peace conditions so that the wealth of the nation may not be withdrawn from productive enterprise and diverted to wasteful or non-productive expenditure.

We demand prompt action by the next Congress for a complete survey of existing taxes and their modification and simplification with a view to secure greater equity and justice in tax burden and improvement in administration.

PUBLIC ECONOMY

Claiming to have effected great economies in Government expenditures, the Republican Party cannot show the reduction of one dollar in taxation as a corollary of this false pretence. In contrast, the last Democratic Congress enacted legislation reducing the taxes from eight billions, designed to be raised, to six billions for the first year after the armistice, and to four billions thereafter; and there the total is left undiminished by our political adversaries. Two years after Armistice Day a Republican Congress provides for expending the stupendous sum of \$5,403,390,327.30.

Affecting great paper economies by reducing departmental estimates of sums which would not have been spent in any event, and by reducing formal appropriations, the Republican statement of expenditures omits the pregnant fact that the Congress authorized the use of one and a half billion dollars in the hands of various departments and bureaus, which otherwise would have been covered

into the Treasury, and which should be added to the Republican total of expenditures.

HIGH COST OF LIVING

The high cost of living and the depreciation of bond values in this country are primarily due to war itself, to the necessary governmental expenditures for the destructive purpose of war, to private extravagance, to the world shortage of capital, to the inflation of foreign currencies and credits and in large degree, to conscienceless profiteering.

The Republican Party is responsible for the failure to restore peace and peace conditions in Europe, which is a principal cause of post-armistice inflation the world over. It has denied the demand of the President for necessary legislation to deal with secondary and local causes. The sound policies pursued by the Treasury and the Federal Reserve system have limited in this country, though they could not prevent, the inflation which was world-wide.

Elected upon specific promises to curtail public expenditures and to bring the country back to a status of effective economy, the Republican Party in Congress wasted time and energy for more than a year in vain and extravagant investigations, costing the tax-payers great sums of money, while revealing nothing beyond the incapacity of Republican politicians to cope with the problems. Demanding that the President, from his place at the Peace Table, call the Congress into extraordinary session for imperative purposes of readjustment, the Congress when convened spent thirteen months in partisan pursuits, failing to repeal a single war statute which harassed business or to initiate a single constructive measure to help business. It busied itself making a pre-election record of pretended thrift, having not one particle of substantial existence in fact. It raged against profiteers and the high cost of living without enacting a single statute to make the former afraid or doing a single act to bring the latter within limitations.

The simple truth is that the high cost of living can only be remedied by increased production, strict governmental economy and a relentless pursuit of those who take advantage of post-war conditions and are demanding and receiving outrageous profits.

We pledge the Democratic Party to a policy of strict economy in government expenditures, and to the enactment and enforcement of such legislation as may be required to bring profiteers before the bar of criminal justice.

THE TARIFF

We reaffirm the traditional policy of the Democratic Party in favor of a tariff for revenue only and we confirm the policy of basing tariff revisions upon the intelligent research of a non-partisan commission, rather than upon the demands of selfish interests, temporarily held in abeyance.

BUDGET

In the interest of economy and good administration, we favor the creation of an effective budget system that will function in accord with the principles of the Constitution. The reform should reach both the executive and legislative aspects of the question. The supervision and preparation of the budget should be vested in the Secretary of the Treasury as the representative of the President. The budget, as such, should not be increased by the Congress except by a two-thirds vote, each House, however, being free to exercise its constitutional

privilege of making appropriations through independent bills. The appropriation bills should be considered by single Committees of the House and Senate. The audit system should be consolidated and its powers expanded so as to pass upon the wisdom of, as well as the authority for, expenditures.

A budget bill was passed in the closing days of the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress which, invalidated by plain constitutional defects and defaced by considerations of patronage, the President was obliged to veto. The House amended the bill to meet the Executive objection. We condemn the Republican Senate for adjourning without passing the amended measure, when by devoting an hour or two more to this urgent public business a budget system could have been provided.

SENATE RULES

We favor such alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the nation's legislative business.

AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS

To the great agricultural interests of the country the Democratic Party does not find it necessary to make promises. It already is rich in its record of things actually accomplished. For nearly half a century of Republican rule not a sentence was written into the Federal Statutes affording one dollar of bank credits to the farming interest of America. In the first term of this Democratic administration the National Bank Act was so altered as to authorize loans of five years maturity on improved farm lands. Later was established a system of farm loan banks, from which the borrowings already exceed three hundred millions of dollars and under which the interest rate to farmers has been so materially reduced as to drive out of business the farm loan sharks who formerly subsisted by extortion upon the great agricultural interests of the country.

Thus it was a Democratic Congress in the administration of a Democratic President which enabled the farmers of America for the first time to obtain credit upon reasonable terms and insured their opportunity for the future development of the nation's agricultural resources. Tied up in Supreme Court proceedings, in a suit by hostile interests, the Federal Farm Loan system, originally opposed by the Republican candidate for the Presidency, appealed in vain to a Republican Congress for adequate financial assistance to tide over the interim between the beginning and the ending of the current year, awaiting a final decision of the highest court on the validity of the contested act. We pledge prompt and consistent support of sound and effective measures to sustain, amplify and perfect the Rural Credits Statutes and thus to check and reduce the growth and course of farm tenancy.

Not only did the Democratic Party put into effect a great Farm Loan system of land mortgage banks, but it passed the Smith-Lever agricultural extension act, carrying to every farmer in every section of the country, through the medium of trained experts and by demonstration farms, the practical knowledge acquired by the Federal Agricultural Department in all things relating to agriculture, horticulture and animal life; it established the Bureau of Markets, the Bureau of Farm Management and passed the Cotton Futures Act, the Grain Grades bill, the Co-operative Farm Administration Act and the Federal Warehouse Act.

The Democratic Party has vastly improved the rural mail system and has built up the parcel post system to such an extent as to render its activities and

its practical service indispensable to the farming community. It was this wise encouragement and this effective concern of the Democratic Party for the farmers of the United States that enabled this great interest to render such essential service in feeding the armies of America and the allied nations of the war and succoring starving populations since Armistice Day.

Meanwhile the Republican leaders at Washington have failed utterly to propose one single measure to make rural life more tolerable. They have signalized their fifteen months of Congressional power by urging schemes which would strip the farms of labor; by assailing the principles of the Farm Loan system and seeking to impair its efficiency; by covertly attempting to destroy the great nitrogen plant at Muscle Shoals upon which the government has expended \$70,000,000 to supply American farmers with fertilizers at reasonable cost; by ruthlessly crippling nearly every branch of agricultural endeavor, literally cramping the productive mediums through which the people must be fed.

We favor such legislation as will confirm to the primary producers of the nation the right of collective bargaining and the right of co-operative handling and marketing of the products of the workshop and the farm and such legislation as will facilitate the exportation of our farm products.

We favor comprehensive studies of farm production costs and the uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.

LABOR AND INDUSTRY

The Democratic Party is now, as ever, the firm friend of honest labor and the promoter of progressive industry. It established the Department of Labor at Washington and a Democratic President called to his official council board the first practical workingman who ever held a cabinet portfolio. Under this administration have been established employment bureaus to bring the man and the job together; have been peaceably determined many bitter disputes between capital and labor; were passed the child-labor act, the workingman's compensation act (the extension of which we advocate so as to include laborers engaged in loading and unloading ships and in interstate commerce), the eight-hour law, the act for vocational training and a code of other wholesome laws affecting the liberties and bettering the conditions of the laboring classes. In the Department of Labor the Democratic Administration established a Woman's Bureau, which a Republican Congress destroyed by withholding appropriations.

Labor is not a commodity; it is human. Those who labor have rights and the national security and safety depend upon a just recognition of those rights and the conservation of the strength of the workers and their families in the interest of sound-hearted and sound-headed men, women and children. Laws regulating hours of labor and conditions under which labor is performed, when passed in recognition of the conditions under which life must be lived to attain the highest development and happiness, are just assertions of the national interest in the welfare of the people.

At the same time, the nation depends upon the products of labor; a cessation of production means a loss and, if long continued, disaster. The whole people, therefore, have a right to insist that justice shall be done to those who work, and in turn that those whose labor creates the necessities upon which the life of the nation depends must recognize the reciprocal obligation between the worker and the State. They should participate in the formulation of sound laws and regulations governing the conditions under which labor is performed, recognize and obey the laws so formulated and seek their amendment when necessary by

the processes ordinarily addressed to the laws and regulations affecting the other relations of life.

Labor, as well as capital, is entitled to adequate compensation. Each has the indefeasible right of organization, of collective bargaining and of speaking through representatives of their own selection. Neither class, however, should at any time nor in any circumstances take action that will put in jeopardy the public welfare. Resort to strikes and lockouts which endanger the health or lives of the people is an unsatisfactory device for determining disputes, and the Democratic Party pledges itself to contrive, if possible, and put into effective operation a fair and comprehensive method of composing differences of this nature.

In private industrial disputes, we are opposed to compulsory arbitration as a method plausible in theory but a failure in fact. With respect to government service, we hold distinctly that the rights of the people are paramount to the right to strike. However, we profess scrupulous regard for the conditions of public employment and pledge the Democratic Party to instant inquiry into the pay of Government employes and equally speedy regulations designed to bring salaries to a just and proper level.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

We endorse the proposed 19th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States granting equal suffrage to women. We congratulate the legislatures of the 35 States which have already ratified said Amendment and we urge the Democratic Governors and legislatures of Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida and such States as have not yet ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment to unite in an effort to complete the process of ratification and secure the 36th State in time for all the women of the United States to participate in the Fall election. We commend the effective advocacy of the measure by President Wilson.

WELFARE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

We urge cooperation with the States for the protection of child life through infancy and maternity care; in the prohibition of child labor and by adequate appropriations for the Children's Bureau and the Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

We advocate full representation of women on all commissions dealing with women's work or women's interests and a reclassification of the Federal Civil Service free from discrimination on the ground of sex; a continuance of appropriations for education in sex hygiene; Federal legislation which shall insure that American women residents in the United States, but married to aliens, shall retain their American citizenship and that the same process of naturalization shall be required for women as for men.

EDUCATION

Co-operative Federal assistance to the States is immediately required for the removal of illiteracy, for the increase of teachers' salaries and instruction in citizenship for both native and foreign-born; increased appropriation for vocational training in home economics, re-establishment of joint Federal and State employment service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women.

DISABLED SOLDIERS

The Federal Government should treat with the utmost consideration every disabled soldier, sailor and marine of the world war, whether his disability be due to wounds received in line of action or to health impaired in service; and for the dependents of the brave men who died in line of duty the government's tenderest concern and richest bounty should be their requital. The fine patriotism exhibited, the heroic conduct displayed by American soldiers, sailors and marines at home and abroad, constitute a sacred heritage of posterity, the worth of which can never be recompensed from the Treasury and the glory of which must not be diminished.

The Democratic Administration wisely established a War Risk Insurance Bureau, giving four and a half millions of enlisted men insurance at unprecedentedly low rates and through the medium of which compensation of men and women injured in service is readily adjusted, and hospital facilities for those whose health is impaired are abundantly afforded.

The Federal Board for Vocational Education should be made a part of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, in order that the task may be treated as a whole, and this machinery of protection and assistance must receive every aid of law and appropriation necessary to full and effective operation.

We believe that no higher or more valued privilege can be afforded to an American citizen than to become a freeholder in the soil of the United States and to that end we pledge our party to the enactment of soldier settlements and home aid legislation which will afford to the men who fought for America the opportunity to become land and home owners under conditions affording genuine Government assistance unencumbered by needless difficulties of red tape or advance financial investment.

THE RAILROADS

The railroads were subjected to Federal control as a war measure without other idea than the swift transport of troops, munitions and supplies. When human life and national hopes were at stake profits could not be considered and were not. Federal operation, however, was marked by an intelligence and efficiency that minimized loss and resulted in many and marked reforms. The equipment taken over was not only grossly inadequate, but shamefully outworn. Unification practices overcame these initial handicaps and provided additions, betterments and improvements. Economies enabled operation without the rate raises that private control would have found necessary, and labor was treated with an exact justice that secured the enthusiastic co-operation that victory demanded. The fundamental purpose of Federal control was achieved fully and splendidly, and at far less cost to the taxpayer than would have been the case under private operation. Investments in railroad properties were not only saved by Government operation, but Government management returned these properties vastly improved in every physical and executive detail. A great task was greatly discharged.

The President's recommendation of return to private ownership gave the Republican majority a full year in which to enact the necessary legislation. The House took six months to formulate its ideas, and another six months was consumed by the Republican Senate in equally vague debate. As a consequence, the Esch-Cummins bill went to the President in the closing hours of the time

limit prescribed, and he was forced to a choice between the chaos of a veto and acquiescence in the measure submitted however grave may have been his objections to it.

There should be a fair and complete test of the law and until careful and mature action by Congress may cure its defects and insure a thoroughly effective transportation system under private ownership without Government subsidy at the expense of the taxpayers of the country.

IMPROVED HIGHWAYS

Improved roads are of vital importance not only to commerce and industry, but also to agriculture and rural life. The Federal Road Act of 1916, enacted by a Democratic Congress, represented the first systematic effort of the Government to insure the building of an adequate system of roads in this country. The act, as amended, has resulted in placing the movement for improved highways on a progressive and substantial basis in every State in the Union and in bringing under actual construction more than 13,000 miles of roads suited to the traffic needs of the communities in which they are located.

We favor a continuance of the present Federal aid plan under existing Federal and State agencies amended so as to include as one of the elements in determining the ratio in which the several states shall be entitled to share in the fund, the area of any public lands therein.

Inasmuch as the postal service has been extended by the Democratic Party to the door of practically every producer and every consumer in the country (rural free delivery alone having been provided for 6,000,000 additional patrons within the past eight years without material added cost), we declare that this instrumentality can and will be used to the maximum of its capacity to improve the efficiency of distribution and reduce the cost of living to consumers while increasing the profitable operations of producers.

We strongly favor the increased use of the motor vehicle in the transportation of the mails and urge the removal of the restrictions imposed by the Republican Congress on the use of motor devices in mail transportation in rural territories.

MERCHANT MARINE

We desire to congratulate the American people upon the re-birth of our Merchant Marine which once more maintains its former place in the world. It was under a Democratic Administration that this was accomplished after seventy years of indifference and neglect, thirteen million tons having been constructed since the act was passed in 1916. We pledge the policy of our party to the continued growth of our Merchant Marine under proper legislation so that American products will be carried to all ports of the world by vessels built in American Yards, flying the American Flag.

PORT FACILITIES

The urgent demands of the war for adequate transportation of war material as well as for domestic need, revealed the fact that our port facilities and rate adjustment were such as to seriously affect the whole country in times of peace as well as war.

We pledge our party to stand for equality of rates, both import and export, for the ports of the country, to the end that there may be adequate and fair

facilities and rates for the mobilization of the products of the country offered for shipment.

INLAND WATERWAYS

We call attention to the failure of the Republican National Convention to recognize in any way the rapid development of barge transportation on our inland waterways, which development is the result of the constructive policies of the Democratic administration. And we pledge ourselves to the further development of adequate transportation facilities on our rivers and to the further improvement of our inland waterways; and we recognize the importance of connecting the Great Lakes with the sea by way of the Mississippi River and its tributaries, as well as by the St. Lawrence River. We favor an enterprising Foreign Trade Policy with all nations, and in this connection we favor the full utilization of all Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific Ports, and an equitable distribution of shipping facilities between the various ports.

Transportation remains an increasingly vital problem in the continued development and prosperity of the Nation.

Our present facilities for distribution by rail are inadequate and the promotion of transportation by water is imperative.

We therefore favor a liberal and comprehensive policy for development and utilization of our harbors and interior waterways.

FLOOD CONTROL

We commend the Democratic Congress for the redemption of the pledge contained in our last platform by the passage of the Flood Control Act of March 1, 1917, and point to the successful control of floods of the Mississippi River and the Sacramento River, California, under the policy of that law, for its complete justification. We favor the extension of this policy to other flood control problems wherever the federal interest involved justifies the expenditure required.

RECLAMATION OF ARID LANDS

By wise legislation and progressive administration, we have transformed the Government reclamation projects, representing an investment of \$100,000,000, from a condition of impending failure and loss of confidence in the ability of the Government to carry through such large enterprises, to a condition of demonstrated success, whereby formerly arid and wholly unproductive lands now sustain 40,000 prosperous families and have an annual crop production of over \$70,000,000, not including the crops grown on a million acres outside the projects supplied with storage water from Government works.

We favor ample appropriations for the continuation and extension of this great work of home-building and internal improvement along the same general lines, to the end that all practical projects shall be built, and waters now running to waste shall be made to provide homes and add to the food supply, power resources, and taxable property, with the Government ultimately reimbursed for the entire outlay.

THE TRADE COMMISSION

The Democratic Party heartily endorses the creation and work of the Federal Trade Commission in establishing a fair field for competitive business, free from restraints of trade and monopoly, and recommends amplification of the

statutes governing its activities so as to grant it authority to prevent the unfair use of patents in restraint of trade.

LIVE STOCK MARKETS

For the purpose of insuring just and fair treatment in the great interstate live stock market, and thus instilling confidence in growers through which production will be stimulated and the price of meats to consumers be ultimately reduced, we favor the enactment of legislation for the supervision of such markets by the national Government.

MEXICO

The United States is the neighbor and friend of the nations of the three Americas. In a very special sense, our international relations in this hemisphere should be characterized by good will and free from any possible suspicion as to our national purpose.

The Administration, remembering always that Mexico is an independent nation and that permanent stability in her government and her institutions could come only from the consent of her own people to a government of their own making, has been unwilling either to profit by the misfortunes of the people of Mexico or to enfeeble their future by imposing from the outside a rule upon their temporarily distracted councils. As a consequence, order is gradually reappearing in Mexico; at no time in many years have American lives and interests been so safe as they now are; peace reigns along the border and industry is resuming.

When the new Government of Mexico shall have given ample proof of its ability permanently to maintain law and order, signified its willingness to meet its international obligations and written upon its statute books just laws under which foreign investors shall have rights as well as duties, that Government should receive our recognition and sympathetic assistance. Until these proper expectations have been met, Mexico must realize the propriety of a policy that asserts the right of the United States to demand full protection for its citizens.

PETROLEUM

The Democratic Party recognizes the importance of the acquisition by Americans of additional sources of supply of petroleum and other minerals and declares that such acquisition both at home and abroad should be fostered and encouraged. We urge such action, legislative and executive, as may secure to American citizens the same rights in the acquirement of mining rights in foreign countries as are enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of any other nation.

NEW NATIONS

The Democratic Party expresses its active sympathy with the people of China, Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, Persia and others who have recently established representative government and who are striving to develop the institutions of true Democracy.

IRELAND

The great principle of national self-determination has received constant reiteration as one of the chief objectives for which this country entered the war and victory established this principle.

Within the limitations of international comity and usage, this Convention repeats the several previous expressions of the sympathy of the Democratic Party of the United States for the aspirations of Ireland for self-government.

ARMENIA

We express our deep and earnest sympathy for the unfortunate people of Armenia, and we believe that our government, consistent with its constitution and principles, should render every possible and proper aid to them in their efforts to establish and maintain a government of their own.

THE PHILIPPINES

We favor the granting of independence without unnecessary delay to the 10,500,000 inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

HAWAII

We favor a liberal policy of homesteading public lands in Hawaii to promote a larger middle-class citizen population, with equal rights to all citizens.

The importance of Hawaii as an outpost on the Western Frontier of the United States demands adequate appropriations by Congress for the development of our harbors and highways there.

PORTO RICO

We favor granting to the people of Porto Rico the traditional territorial form of government, with a view to ultimate statehood, accorded to all territories of the United States since the beginning of our government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of such territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence therein.

ALASKA

We commend the Democratic Administration for inaugurating a new policy as to Alaska as evidenced by the construction of the Alaska railroad and opening of the coal and oil fields.

We declare for the modification of the existing coal land law, to promote development without disturbing the features intended to prevent monopoly.

For such changes in the policy of forestry control as will permit the immediate initiation of the paper pulp industry.

For relieving the territory from the evils of long-distance government by arbitrary and interlocking bureaucratic regulation, and to that end we urge the speedy passage of a law containing the essential features of the Lane-Curry bill now pending co-ordinating and consolidating all federal control of natural resources under one department to be administered by a non-partisan board permanently resident in the territory.

For the fullest measure of territorial self-government with the view to ultimate statehood, with jurisdiction over all matters not of purely federal concern, including fisheries and game, and for an intelligent administration of federal control we believe that all officials appointed should be qualified by previous bona fide residence in the territory.

For a comprehensive system of road construction with increased appropriations and the full extension of the Federal Road Aid Act to Alaska.

For the extension to Alaska of the Federal Farm Loan Act.

ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS

The policy of the United States with reference to the non-admission of Asiatic Immigrants is a true expression of the judgment of our people, and to the several states whose geographical situation or internal conditions make this policy and the enforcement of the laws enacted pursuant thereto of particular concern, we pledge our support.

THE POSTAL SERVICE

The efficiency of the Post Office Department has been vindicated against a malicious and designing assault by the efficiency of its operation. Its record refutes its assailants. Their voices are silenced and their charges have collapsed.

We commend the work of the Joint Commission on the Re-classification of Salaries of Postal Employees, recently concluded, which Commission was created by a Democratic administration. The Democratic Party has always favored and will continue to favor the fair and just treatment of all Government employees.

FREE SPEECH AND PRESS

We resent the unfounded reproaches directed against the Democratic Administration for alleged interference with the freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

No utterance from any quarter has been assailed, and no publication has been repressed which has not been animated by treasonable purpose, and directed against the nation's peace, order and security in time of war.

We reaffirm our respect for the great principles of free speech and a free press, but assert as an indisputable proposition that they afford no toleration of enemy propaganda or the advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the state or nation by force or violence.

REPUBLICAN CORRUPTION

The shocking disclosure of the lavish use of money by aspirants for the Republican nomination for the highest office in the gift of the people has created a painful impression throughout the country. Viewed in connection with the recent conviction of a Republican Senator from the State of Michigan for the criminal transgression of the law limiting expenditures on behalf of a candidate for the United States Senate, it indicates the re-entry, under Republican auspices, of money as an influential factor in elections, thus nullifying the letter and flaunting the spirit of numerous laws, enacted by the people, to protect the ballot from the contamination of corrupt practices. We deplore these delinquencies and invoke their stern popular rebuke, pledging our earnest efforts to a strengthening of the present statutes against corrupt practices, and their rigorous enforcement.

We remind the people that it was only by the return of a Republican Senator in Michigan, who is now under conviction and sentence for the criminal misuse of money in his election, that the present organization of the Senate with a Republican majority was made possible.

CONCLUSION

Believing that we have kept the Democratic faith and resting our claims to the confidence of the people not upon grandiose promises, but upon the solid performances of our party, we submit our record to the nation's consideration and ask that the pledges of this platform be appraised in the light of that record.

PLATFORM OF THE PROHIBITION PARTY 1920

Adopted by the Prohibition National Convention
Lincoln, Nebraska, July 22, 1920

The Prohibition Party assembled in National Convention in the city of Lincoln, Nebraska, on this twenty-second day of July, 1920, expresses its thanks to Almighty God for the victory over the beverage liquor traffic which crowns fifty years of consecrated effort. The principles which we have advocated throughout our history have been so far recognized that the manufacture and traffic in intoxicating drink have been forever prohibited in the fundamental law of the land; Congress has rightly interpreted the Eighteenth Amendment in laws enacted for its enforcement; and the Supreme Court has upheld both the Amendment and the law.

Asking that it be clothed with governmental power, the Prohibition Party challenges the attention of the Nation and requests the votes of the people on this Declaration of Principles.

NULLIFICATION CONDEMNED

The organized liquor traffic is engaged in a treasonable attempt to nullify the Amendment by such modification of the enforcement act as will increase the alcoholic content in beer and wine and thus thwart the will of the people as constitutionally expressed.

In the face of this open threat the Republican and Democratic parties refused to make platform declarations in favor of law enforcement, though petitioned so to do by multitudes of people. Thus the Prohibition Party remains the sole political champion of National Prohibition.

The Prohibition Party in its platform in 1872 declared: "There can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing party competition for the liquor vote; any party not openly opposed to the traffic, experience shows, will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every object of good government for party success." Notwithstanding the liquor traffic is now outlawed by the Constitution this fitly describes the present political attitude of the old parties.

The issue is not only the ENFORCEMENT but also the MAINTENANCE of the law to make the Amendment effective.

The proposed increase in the alcoholic content of beverages would be fraught with grave danger in that it would mean the return of the open saloon with all its attendant evils.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations is now in existence and is functioning in world affairs. We favor the entrance of the United States into the League by the immediate

ratification of the treaty of peace, not objecting to reasonable reservations interpreting American understanding of the covenant. The time is past when the United States can hold aloof from the affairs of the world. Such course is short-sighted and only invites disaster.

PEACE

We stand for a constitutional amendment providing that treaties of peace shall be ratified by a majority of both Houses of Congress.

We stand by our declaration of 1916 against militarism and universal military training. Without it our boys were in a short time trained to whip the greatest army ever assembled and with national prohibition to make sure the most virile manhood in the world we should encourage universal disarmament and devotion to the acts of peace.

EDUCATION

We stand for compulsory education with instruction in the English language, which, if given in private or parochial schools must be equivalent to that afforded by the public schools, and be under state supervision.

SUFFRAGE

The Prohibition Party has long advocated the enfranchisement of women. Suffrage should not be conditioned upon sex. We congratulate the women upon the freedom which the Party has helped them to achieve.

WOMAN AND THE HOME

We approve and adopt the program of the National League of Women Voters providing for :

The prohibition of child labor ;

Adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau ;

Protection for infant life through a federal program for maternity and infancy care ;

A Federal department of education, Federal aid for the removal of illiteracy and the increase of teacher's salaries ;

Instruction of the youth and the newcomer to our shores in the duties and ideals of citizenship.

Vocational training in home economics ;

Federal supervision of the marketing and distribution of food, the enactment and enforcement of such measures as will open the channels of trade, prevent excess profits, and eliminate unfair competition and control of the necessities of life ;

The establishment of a Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor to determine standards and policies which will improve working conditions for women and increase their efficiency.

The appointment of women in the mediation and conciliation service and on any industrial commissions and tribunals which may be created ;

The establishment of a joint Federal and State employment service with women's departments under the direction of qualified women ;

The merit system in the Civil Service free from discrimination on account of sex with a wage scale determined by skill demanded for the work and in no wise below the cost of living as established by official investigation ;

Appropriation to carry on a campaign against venereal diseases and for public education in sex hygiene;

Federal legislation permitting an American born woman to retain her citizenship while resident in the United States, though married to an alien;

And further, that an alien woman who marries an American citizen must take the obligation of citizenship before she can become a citizen.

ECONOMY IN ADMINISTRATION

We believe in the Budget system and we stand for economy in governmental administration. There should be a reduction in boards, committees, commissions and offices which consume taxes and increase expenses.

LABOR AND INDUSTRY

We stand for Industrial Peace. We believe the time has come for the government to assume responsibility for the protection of the public against the waste and terror of industrial warfare, and to that end we demand legislation defining the rights of labor and the creation of industrial courts, which will guarantee to labor and employing capital equal and exact justice, and to the general public protection against the paralysis of industry due to this warfare.

PROFITEERING

The Prohibition Party pledges the nation to rid it of the profiteer and to close the door against his return. It will endeavor to eliminate all unnecessary middlemen by the encouragement of organizations among producers that will bring those who sell and those who use nearer together. It will enact and enforce laws needful to effectively prevent excessive charges by such middlemen. To this end it will demand legislation subjecting to the penalties of the criminal law all corporate officers and employees who give or carry out instructions that result in extortion; it will make it unlawful for anyone engaged in Interstate Commerce to make the sale of one article dependent upon the purchase of another article and it will require such corporation to disclose to customers the difference between cost price and selling price or limit the profit that can be legally charged as the rate of interest is now limited.

AGRICULTURE

We pledge our aid to the farmer in working out a plan to equalize prices, to secure labor, and to organize a system of co-operative marketing, including public terminals, mills and storage for the purpose of encouraging agriculture and securing for the farmer such return as will tend to increased production.

We favor such extension of the parcel post as will further facilitate the direct traffic between the producer and consumer.

PRESIDENTIAL QUALIFICATIONS

The qualifications for President stated in the Constitution have to do with age and citizenship. We call attention to the fact that of greater importance are those not so stated referring to moral, intellectual and spiritual endowments. The President of the United States in his daily life, his home and family relationships and in his official career is expected to typify the finest and best the country can produce. He is the leader of the nation. The moral force and power of his example are immeasurable. No man or woman should ever be elected to the high

office who is out of harmony with the purposes of the people or who lacks sympathy with their highest and holiest ideals, and with the Christian principles upon which the nation was founded.

LAW AND ORDER

A crying evil of the day is the general lax enforcement of law. Without obedience to law and maintenance of order our American institutions must perish.

The Prohibition Party now, as ever, pledges impartial enforcement of all law.

CONCLUSION

In this national and world crisis the Prohibition Party reminds the people of its long time faithfulness and its wisdom, proved by the many reforms which it was the first to advocate; and on its record as the oldest minority party—one which has never sold its birthright for a mess of pottage but throughout the years has stood for the best interests of the country—it asks the favorable consideration of the voters, believing that by its support they can make it necessary for all political organizations to come up to a higher level and to render a finer quality of service.

It pledges itself resolutely to stand for the right and oppose the wrong and dauntlessly to lead in the advocacy of righteous and patriotic principles. On its record and on this Declaration of Principles it submits its case to the American people.

NATIONAL PLATFORM, SOCIALIST PARTY 1920

In the national campaign of 1920 the Socialist Party calls upon all American workers of hand and brain, and upon all citizens who believe in political liberty and social justice, to free the country from the oppressive misrule of the old political parties, and to take the government into their own hands under the banner and upon the program of the Socialist Party.

The outgoing administration, like Democratic and Republican administrations of the past, leaves behind it a disgraceful record of solemn pledges unscrupulously broken and public confidence ruthlessly betrayed.

It obtained the suffrage of the people on a platform of peace, liberalism and social betterment, but drew the country into a devastating war, and inaugurated a regime of despotism, reaction and oppression unsurpassed in the annals of the republic.

It promised to the American people a treaty which would assure to the world a reign of international right and true democracy. It gave its sanction and support to an infamous pact formulated behind closed doors by predatory elder statesmen of European and Asiatic Imperialism. Under this pact territories have been annexed against the will of their populations and cut off from their source of sustenance; nations seeking their freedom in the exercise of the much heralded right of self-determination, have been brutally fought with armed force, intrigue and starvation blockades.

To the millions of young men, who staked their lives on the field of battle, to the people of the country who gave unstintingly of their toil and property to support the war, the Democratic administration held out the sublime ideal of a union of the peoples of the world organized to maintain perpetual peace among nations on the basis of justice and freedom. It helped create a reactionary alliance of imperialistic governments, banded together to bully weak nations, crush working-class governments and perpetuate strife and warfare.

While thus furthering the ends of reaction, violence and oppression abroad, our administration suppressed the cherished and fundamental rights and civil liberties at home.

Upon the pretext of war-time necessity, the Chief Executive of the republic, and the appointed heads of his administration were clothed with dictatorial powers (which were often exercised arbitrarily), and Congress enacted laws in open and direct violation of the constitutional safeguards of freedom of expression.

Hundreds of citizens who raised their voices for the maintenance of political and industrial rights during the war, were indicted under the Espionage law, tried in an atmosphere of prejudice and hysteria, and many of them are now serving inhumanly long jail sentences for daring to uphold the traditions of liberty which once were sacred in this country.

Agents of the Federal Government unlawfully raided homes and meeting places and prevented or broke up peaceable gatherings of citizens.

The postmaster-general established a censorship of the press more autocratic than ever tolerated in a regime of absolutism, and has harassed and destroyed publications on account of their advanced political and economic views, by excluding them from the mails.

And after the war was in fact long over, the administration has not scrupled to continue a policy of repression and terrorism under the shadow and hypocritical guise of war-time measures.

It has practically imposed involuntary servitude and peonage on a large class of American workers by denying them the right to quit work and coercing them into acceptance of inadequate wages and onerous conditions of labor. It has dealt a foul blow to the traditional American right of asylum by deporting hundreds of foreign born workers by administrative order, on the mere suspicion of harboring radical views, and often for the sinister purpose of breaking labor strikes.

In the short span of three years our self-styled liberal administration has succeeded in undermining the very foundation of political liberty and economic rights, which this republic has built up in more than a century of struggle and progress.

Under the cloak of a false and hypocritical patriotism and under the protection of governmental terror the Democratic administration has given the ruling classes unrestrained license to plunder the people by intensive exploitation of labor, by the extortion of enormous profits, and by increasing the cost of all necessities of life. Profiteering has become reckless and rampant, billions have been coined by the capitalists out of the suffering and misery of their fellow men. The American financial oligarchy has become a dominant factor in the world, while the condition of the American workers has grown more precarious.

The responsibility does not rest upon the Democratic party alone. The Republican party through its representatives in Congress and otherwise, has not only openly condoned the political misdeeds of the last three years, but has sought to outdo its Democratic rival in the orgy of political reaction and repression. Its criticism of the Democratic administrative policy is that it is not reactionary and drastic enough.

America is now at the parting of the roads. If the outraging of political liberty, and concentration of economic power into the hands of the few is permitted to go on, it can have only one consequence, the reduction of the country to a state of absolute capitalist despotism.

We particularly denounce the militaristic policy of both old parties of investing countless hundreds of millions of dollars in armaments after the victorious completion of what was to have been the "last war." We call attention to the fatal results of such a program in Europe, carried on prior to 1914, and culminating in the Great War; we declare that such a policy, adding unbearable burdens to the working class and to all the people, can lead only to the complete Prussianization of the nation, and ultimately to war; and we demand immediate and complete abandonment of this fatal program.

The Socialist Party sounds the warning. It calls upon the people to defeat both parties at the polls, and to elect the candidates of the Socialist Party to the end of restoring political democracy and bringing about complete industrial freedom.

The Socialist Party of the United States therefore summons all who believe in this fundamental doctrine to prepare for a complete reorganization of our

social system, based upon public ownership of public necessities; upon government by representatives chosen from occupational as well as from geographical groups, in harmony with our industrial development; and with citizenship based on service; that we may end forever the exploitation of class by class.

To achieve this end the Socialist Party pledges itself to the following program:

1. SOCIAL

1. All business vitally essential for the existence and welfare of the people, such as railroads, express service, steamship lines, telegraphs, mines, oil wells, power plants, elevators, packing houses, cold storage plants and all industries operating on a national scale, should be taken over by the nation.

2. All publicly owned industries should be administered jointly by the government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue or profit, but with the sole object of securing just compensation and humane conditions of employment to the workers and efficient and reasonable service to the public.

3. All banks should be acquired by the government, and incorporated in a unified public banking system.

4. The business of insurance should be taken over by the government, and should be extended to include insurance against accident, sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment, without contribution on the part of the worker.

5. Congress should enforce the provisions of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments with reference to the Negroes, and effective federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the Negroes full civil, political, industrial and educational rights.

2. INDUSTRIAL

1. Congress should enact effective laws to abolish child labor, to fix minimum wages, based on an ascertained cost of a decent standard of life, to protect migratory and unemployed workers from oppression, to abolish detective and strike-breaking agencies and to establish a shorter work-day in keeping with increased industrial productivity.

3. POLITICAL

1. The constitutional freedom of speech, press and assembly should be restored by repealing the Espionage Law and all other repressive legislation, and by prohibiting the executive usurpation of authority.

2. All prosecutions under the Espionage Law should be discontinued, and all persons serving prison sentences for alleged offenses growing out of religious beliefs, political views or industrial activities should be fully pardoned and immediately released.

3. No alien should be deported from the United States on account of his political views or participation in labor struggles, nor in any event without proper trial on specific charges. The arbitrary power to deport aliens by administrative order should be repealed.

4. The power of the courts to restrain workers in their struggles against employers by the Writ of Injunction or otherwise, and their power to nullify congressional legislation, should be abrogated.

5. Federal judges should be elected by the people and be subject to recall.
6. The President and the Vice-President of the United States should be elected by direct popular election, and be subject to recall. All members of the Cabinet should be elected by Congress and be responsible at all times to the vote thereof.
7. Suffrage should be equal and unrestricted in fact as well as in law for all men and women throughout the nation.
8. Because of the strict residential qualification of suffrage in this country, millions of citizens are disfranchised in every election; adequate provision should be made for the registration and voting of migratory voters.
9. The Constitution of the United States should be amended to strengthen the safeguards of civil and political liberty, and to remove all obstacles to industrial and social reform, and reconstruction, including the changes enumerated in this program, in keeping with the will and interest of the people. It should be made amendable by a majority of the voters of the nation upon their own initiative, or upon the initiative of Congress.

4. FOREIGN RELATIONS

1. All claims of the United States against allied countries for loans made during the war should be cancelled upon the understanding that all war debts among such countries shall likewise be cancelled. The largest possible credit in food, raw material and machinery should be extended to the stricken nations of Europe in order to help them rebuild the ruined world.
2. The Government of the United States should initiate a movement to dissolve the mischievous organization called the "League of Nations" and to create an international parliament, composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world, based upon the recognition of their equal rights, the principles of self-determination, the right to national existence of colonies and other dependencies, freedom of international trade and trade routes by land and sea, and universal disarmament, and be charged with revising the Treaty of Peace on the principles of justice and conciliation.
3. The United States should immediately make peace with the Central Powers and open commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia under the Soviet Government. It should promptly recognize the independence of the Irish Republic.
4. The United States should make and proclaim it a fixed principle in its foreign policy that American capitalists, who acquire concessions or make investments in foreign countries, do so at their own risk, and under no circumstances should our government enter into diplomatic negotiations or controversies or resort to armed conflicts on account of foreign property-claims of American capitalists.

5. FISCAL

1. All war debts and other debts of the Federal Government should immediately be paid in full, the funds for such payment to be raised by means of a progressive property tax, whose burdens should fall upon the rich and particularly upon great fortunes made during the war.

2. A standing progressive income tax and a graduated inheritance tax should be levied to provide for all needs of the government, including the cost of its increasing social and industrial functions.

3. The unearned increment of land should be taxed, all land held out of use should be taxed at full rental value.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party, May 12, 1920

The Socialist Party of the United States demands that the country and its wealth be redeemed from the control of private interests and turned over to the people to be administered for the equal benefit of all.

America is not owned by the American people. Our so-called national wealth is not the wealth of the nation but of the privileged few.

These are the ruling classes of America. They are small in numbers but they dominate the lives and shape the destinies of their fellow men.

They own the people's jobs and determine their wages; they control the markets of the world and fix the prices of farm products; they own their own homes and fix their rents; they own their food and set its cost; they own their press and formulate their convictions; they own the government and make their laws; they own their schools and mould their minds.

* * * * *

Around and about the capitalist class cluster the numerous and varied groups of the population, generally designated as the "middle classes." They consist of farm owners, small merchants and manufacturers, professional and better paid employees. Their economic status is often precarious. They live in hopes of being lifted into the charmed spheres of the ruling classes. Their social psychology is that of retainers of the wealthy. As a rule they sell their gifts, knowledge and efforts to the capitalist interests. They are staunch upholders of the existing order of social inequalities.

The bulk of the American people is composed of workers. Workers on the farm and in the factory, in mines and mills, on ships and railroads, in offices and counting houses, in schools and in personal service, workers of hand and brain, all men and women who render useful service to the community in the countless ramified ways of modern civilization. They have made America what it is. They sustain America from day to day. They bear most of the burdens of life and enjoy but few of its pleasures. They create the enormous wealth of the country but live in constant dread of poverty. They feed and clothe the rich, and yet bow to their alleged superiority. They keep alive the industries but have no say in their management. They constitute the majority of the people but have no control in the government. Despite the forms of political equality the workers of the United States are virtually a subject class.

* * * * *

The Socialist Party is the party of the workers. It espouses their cause because in the workers lies the hope of the political, economic and social redemption of the country. The ruling class and their retainers cannot be expected to

change the iniquitous system of which they are the beneficiaries. Individual members of these classes often join in the struggle against the capitalist order from motives of personal idealism, but whole classes have never been known to abdicate their rule and surrender their privileges for the mere sake of social justice. The workers alone have a direct and compelling interest in abolishing the present profit system.

The Socialist Party desires the workers of America to take the economic and political power from the capitalist class, not that they may establish themselves as a new ruling class, but in order that all class divisions may be abolished forever.

* * * * *

To perform this supreme social task the workers must be organized as a political party of their own. They must realize that both the Republican and Democratic parties are the political instruments of the master classes, and equally pledged to uphold and perpetuate capitalism. They must be trained to use the ballot box to vote out the tools of the capitalist and middle classes and to vote in representatives of the workers. A true political party of labor must be founded upon the uncompromising demand for the complete socialization of the industries. That means doing away with the private ownership of the sources and instruments of wealth production and distribution, abolishing workless incomes in the form of profits, interest or rents, transforming the whole able-bodied population of the country into useful workers, and securing to all workers the full social value of their work.

* * * * *

The Socialist Party is such a political party. It strives by means of political methods, including the action of its representatives in the legislatures and other public offices to force the enactment of such measures as will immediately benefit the workers, raise their standard of life, increase their power and stiffen their resistance to capitalist aggression. Its purpose is to secure a majority in Congress and in every state legislature, to win the principal executive and judicial offices, to become the dominant and controlling party, and when in power to transfer to the ownership by the people of industries, beginning with those of a public character, such as banking, insurance, mining, transportation and communication, as well as the trustified industries, and extending the process to all other industries susceptible of collective ownership, as rapidly as their physical conditions will permit.

It also proposes to socialize the system of public education and health and all activities and institutions vitally affecting the public needs and welfare including dwelling houses.

The Socialist program advocates the socialization of all large farming estates and land used for industrial and public purposes as well as all instrumentalities for storing, preserving and marketing farm products. It does not contemplate interference with the private possession of land actually used and cultivated by occupants.

The Socialist Party, when in political control, proposes to reorganize the government in form and substance so as to change it from a tool of repression into an instrument of social and industrial service. It affirms a fundamental

truth of the American Declaration of Independence, that when a government fails to serve us, or becomes destructive of human happiness, "It is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness."

* * * * *

The Socialist transformation cannot be successfully accomplished by political victories alone. The reorganization of the industries upon the basis of social operation and co-operative effort will require an intelligent and disciplined working class, skilled not only in the processes of physical work but also in the technical problems of management. This indispensable training the workers can best gain as a result of their constant efforts to secure a greater share in the management of industries through their labor unions and co-operatives. These economic organizations of labor have also an immediate practice and vital function. Their daily struggles for betterment in the sphere of their respective industries supplement and reinforce the political efforts of the Socialist Party in the same general direction, and their great economic power may prove a formidable weapon for safeguarding the political rights of labor.

The Socialist Party does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of labor unions, but will always support them in their economic struggle. In order however, that such struggle might attain the maximum of efficiency and success, the Socialists favor the organization of workers along lines of industrial unionism, in closest organic co-operation, as an organized working-class body.

* * * * *

The Socialist Party does not seek to interfere with the institution of the family as such, but promises to make family life fuller, nobler and happier by removing the sordid factor of economic dependence of woman on man, and by assuring to all members of the family greater material security and more leisure to cultivate the joys of the home.

The Socialist Party adheres strictly to the principle of complete separation of state and church. It recognizes the right of voluntary communities of citizens to maintain religious institutions and to worship according to the dictates of their conscience.

The Socialist Party seeks to attain its end by orderly and constitutional methods, so long as the ballot box, the right of representation and civil liberties are maintained. Violence is not the weapon of the Socialist Party but of the short-sighted representatives of the ruling classes, who stupidly believe that social movements and ideals can be destroyed by brutal physical repression. The Socialists depend upon education and organization of the masses.

* * * * *

The domination of the privileged classes has been so strong that they have succeeded in persuading their credulous fellow citizens that they, the despoilers of America, are the only true Americans; that their selfish class interests are the sacred interests of the nation; that only those that submit supinely to their oppressive rule are loyal and patriotic citizens, and that all who oppose their exactions and pretensions are traitors to their country.

The Socialists emphatically reject this fraudulent notion of patriotism.

The Socialist Party gives its service and allegiance to the mass of the American people, the working classes, but this interest is not limited to America alone. In modern civilization the destinies of all nations are inextricably interwoven. No nation can be prosperous and happy while its neighbors are poor and miserable. No nation can be truly free if other nations are enslaved. The ties of international interdependence and solidarity are particularly vital among the working classes. In all the advanced countries of the world the working classes are engaged in the identical struggle for political and economic freedom, and the success or failure of each is immediately reflected upon the progress and fortunes of all.

* * * * *

The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism and to wars among nations. Modern wars are generally caused by commercial and financial rivalries and intrigues of the capitalist interests in different countries. They are made by the ruling classes and fought by the masses. They bring wealth and power to the privileged few and suffering, death, and desolation to the many. They cripple the struggles of the workers for political rights, material improvement and social justice and tend to sever the bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries.

* * * * *

The Socialist movement is a world struggle in behalf of human civilization. The Socialist Party of the United States co-operates with similar parties in other countries, and extends to them its full support in their struggles, confident that the class-conscious workers all over the world will eventually secure the powers of government in their respective countries, abolish the oppression and chaos, the strife and bloodshed of international capitalism, and establish a federation of Socialist republics, co-operating with each other for the benefit of the human race, and for the maintenance of the peace of the world.

PLATFORM OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES 1920

PREAMBLE

The American Declaration of Independence, adopted July 4, 1776, states that governments are instituted to secure to the people the rights of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Democracy cannot exist unless all power is preserved to the people. The only excuse for the existence of government is to serve, not to rule, the people.

In the United States of America, the power of government, the priceless and inalienable heritage of the people, has been stolen from the people—has been seized by a few men who control the wealth of the nation and by the tools of these men, maintained by them in public office to do their bidding.

The administrative offices of the government and congress are controlled by the financial barons—even the courts have been prostituted—and the people as a result of this usurpation have been reduced to economic and industrial servitude.

Under the prevailing order in the United States, wealth is monopolized by a few and the people are kept in poverty, while costs of living mount until the burden of providing the necessities of life is well-nigh intolerable.

Having thus robbed the people first of their power and then of their wealth, the wielders of financial power, seeking new fields of exploitation, have committed the government of the United States, against the will of the people, to imperialistic policies and seek to extend these enterprises to such lengths that our nation today stands in danger of becoming an empire instead of a republic.

Just emerging from a war which we said we fought to extend democracy to the ends of the earth, we find ourselves helpless while the masters of our government, who are also the masters of industry and commerce, league themselves with the masters of other nations to prevent self-determination by helpless people and to exploit and rob them, notwithstanding that we committed ourselves to guaranty of self-government for all such peoples.

Following the greedy spectacle of the peace conference, the money-masters feared an awakening of the people which threatened to exact for mankind those benefits for which the war was said to have been fought. Thereupon these masters, in the United States, through their puppets in public office, in an effort to stifle free discussion, stripped from the inhabitants of this land, rights and liberties guaranteed under American doctrines on which this country was founded and guaranteed also by the federal constitution.

These rights and liberties must be restored to the people.

More than this must be done. All power to govern this nation must be restored to the people. This involves industrial freedom, for political democracy is only an empty phrase without industrial democracy. This can not be done by

superficial, palliative measures such as are, from time to time, thrown as sops to the voters by the Republican and Democrat parties. Patch-work cannot repair the destruction of democracy wrought by these two old parties. Reconstruction is necessary.

The invisible government of the United States maintains the two old parties to confuse the voters with false issues. These parties, therefore can not seriously attempt reconstruction, which, to be effective, must smash to atoms the money power of the proprietors of the two old parties.

Into this breach step the amalgamated groups of forward looking men and women who perform useful work with hand and brain, united in the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States by a spontaneous and irresistible impulse to do righteous battle for democracy against its despoilers, and more especially determined to function together because of the exceptionally brazen defiance shown by the two old parties in the selection of their candidates and the writing of their platforms in this campaign. This party, financed by its rank and file and not by big business, sets about the task of fundamental reconstruction of democracy in the United States, to restore all power to the people and to set up a governmental structure that will prevent seizure, henceforth, of that power by a few unscrupulous men.

The reconstruction proposed is set forth in the following platform of national issues, to which all candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party are pledged.

1. 100 PER CENT. AMERICANISM

Restoration of civil liberties and American doctrines and their preservation inviolate, including free speech, free press, free assemblage, right of asylum, equal opportunity, and trial by jury; return of the Department of Justice to the functions for which it was created, to the end that laws may be enforced without favor and without discrimination; amnesty for all persons imprisoned because of their patriotic insistence upon their constitutional guarantees, industrial activities or religious beliefs; repeal of all so-called "espionage," "sedition," and "criminal syndicalist" laws; protection of the right of all workers to strike, and stripping from the courts of powers unlawfully usurped by them and used to defeat the people and foster big business, especially the power to issue anti-labor injunctions and to declare unconstitutional laws passed by Congress.

To Americanize the federal courts, we demand that federal judges be elected for terms not to exceed four years, subject to recall.

As Americanism means democracy, suffrage should be universal. We demand immediate ratification of the nineteenth amendment and full, unrestricted political rights for all citizens, regardless of sex, race, color or creed, and for civil service employees.

Democracy demands also that the people be equipped with the instruments of the initiative, referendum and recall, with the special provision that war may not be declared except in cases of actual military invasion, before referring the question to a direct vote of the people.

2. ABOLISH IMPERIALISM AT HOME AND ABROAD

Withdrawal of the United States from further participation (under the treaty of Versailles) in the reduction of conquered peoples to economic or political subjection to the small groups of men who manipulate the bulk of the world's

wealth; refusal to permit our government to aid in the exploitation of the weaker people of the earth by these men; refusal to permit use of the agencies of our government (through dollar diplomacy or other means) by the financial interests of our country to exploit other peoples, including emphatic refusal to go to war with Mexico at the behest of Wall Street; recognition of the elected government of the Republic of Ireland and of the government established by the Russian people; denial of assistance financial, military, or otherwise, for foreign armies invading these countries, and an embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition to be used against the Russian or Irish people; instant lifting of the blockade against Russia; recognition of every government set up by people who wrest their sovereignty from oppressors, in accordance with the right of self-determination for all peoples; abolition of secret treaties and prompt publication of all diplomatic documents received by the State Department; withdrawal from imperialistic enterprises upon which we already have embarked (including the dictatorship we exercise in varying degrees over the Philippines, Hawaii, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Porto Rico, Cuba, Samoa and Guam); and prevention of the imposition upon the people of the United States of any form whatever of conscription, military or industrial, or of military training.

We stand committed to a league of free peoples, organized and pledged to destruction of autocracy, militarism and economic imperialism throughout the world and to bring about a world-wide disarmament and open diplomacy, to the end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars.

3. DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

The right of labor to an increasing share in the responsibilities and management of industry; application of this principle to be developed in accordance with the experience of actual operation.

4. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION

Immediate repeal of the Esch-Cummins Law; public ownership and operation, with democratic control of all public utilities and natural resources, including stock-yards, large abattoirs, grain-elevators, water-power, and cold-storage and terminal warehouses; government ownership and democratic operation of the railroads, mines and of such natural resources as are in whole or in part bases of control by special interests of basic industries and monopolies such as lands containing coal, iron, copper, oil, large water-power and commercial timber tracts; pipe lines and oil tanks; telegraph and telephone lines; and establishment of a public policy that no land (including natural resources) and no patents shall be held out of use for speculation or to aid monopoly; establishment of national and state owned banks where the money of the government must, and that of individuals may, be deposited; granting of credit to individuals or groups according to regulations laid down by Congress which will safe-guard deposits.

We denounce the attempt to scuttle our great government-owned merchant marine and favor bringing ocean-going commerce to our inland ports.

5. PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY

Legislation that will effectively check and reduce the growth and evils of farm tenancy; establishment of public markets; extension of the federal farm loan system, making personal credit readily available and cheap to farmers; maintenance of dependable transportation for farm products; organization of a

state and national service that will furnish adequate advice and guidance to applicants for farms and to farmers already on the land; legislation to promote and protect farmers' and consumers' co-operative organizations conducted for mutual benefit; comprehensive studies of costs of production of farm and staple manufactured products and uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.

6. GOVERNMENT FINANCE

We demand that economy in governmental expenditures shall replace the extravagance that has run riot under the present administration. The governmental expenditures of the present year of peace, as already disclosed, exceed \$6,000,000,000—or six times the annual expenditures of the pre-war period. We condemn and denounce the system that has created one war-millionaire for every three American soldiers killed in the war in France, and we demand that this war-acquired wealth shall be taxed in such a manner as to prevent the shifting of the burden of taxation to the shoulders of the poor in the shape of higher prices and of increased living costs.

We are opposed, therefore, to consumption taxes and to all indirect taxation for support of current operations of the government. For support of such current operations, we favor steeply graduated income taxes, exempting individual incomes amounting to less than \$3,000 a year, with a further exemption allowance of \$300 for every child under 18 and also for every child over 18 who may be pursuing an education to fit himself for life. In the case of state governments and of local governments we favor taxation of land value, but not of improvements or of equipment, and also sharply graduated taxes on inheritance.

7. REDUCE THE COST OF LIVING

Stabilization of currency so that it may not fluctuate as at present, carrying the standard of living of all the people down with it when it depreciates; federal control of the meat packing industry; extension and perfection of the parcel post system to bring producer and consumer closer together; enforcing existing laws against profiteers, especially the big and powerful ones.

8. JUSTICE TO THE SOLDIERS

We favor paying the soldiers of the late war as a matter of right and not as charity, a sufficient sum to make their war-pay not less than civilian earnings. We denounce the delays in payment, and the inadequate compensation to disabled soldiers and sailors and their dependents, and we pledge such changes as will promptly and adequately give sympathetic recognition of their services and sacrifices.

9. LABOR'S BILL OF RIGHTS

During the years that Labor has tried in vain to obtain recognition of the rights of the workers at the hands of the government through the agencies of the Republican and Democrat parties, the principal demands of Labor have been catalogued and presented by the representatives of Labor, who have gone to convention after convention of the old parties—to Congress after Congress of old-party office holders. These conventions and sessions of Congress have from time to time, included in platforms and laws a few fragments of Labor's program, carefully rewritten, however, to interpose no interference with the oppression of Labor by private wielders of the power of capital. It remains for the Farmer-

Labor Party, the people's own party, financed by the people themselves, to pledge itself to the entire Bill of Rights of Labor, the conditions enumerated therein to be written into the laws of the land to be enjoyed by the workers, organized or unorganized, without the amelioration of a single word in the program. Abraham Lincoln said: "Labor is the superior of Capital and deserves the highest consideration."

We pledge the application of this fundamental principle in the enactment and administration of legislation.

(a) The unqualified right of all workers, including civil service employees, to organize and bargain collectively with employers through such representatives of their unions as they choose.

(b) Freedom from compulsory arbitration and all other attempts to coerce workers.

(c) A maximum standard 8-hour day and 44-hour week.

(d) Old age and unemployment payments and workmen's compensation to insure workers and their dependents against accident and disease.

(e) Establishment and operation, through periods of depression, of governmental work on housing, road-building, reforestation, reclamation of cut-over timber, desert and swamp lands and development of ports, waterways and water-power plants.

(f) Re-education of the cripples of industry as well as the victims of war.

(g) Abolition of employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(h) Complete and effective protection for women in industry, with equal pay for equal work.

(i) Abolition of private employment, detective and strikebreaking agencies and extension of the federal free employment service.

(j) Prevention of exploitation of immigration and immigrants by employers.

(k) Vigorous enforcement of the Seamen's Act, and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. The present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the traveling public, must not be minimized.

(l) Exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

(m) A federal department of education to advance democracy and effectiveness in all public school systems throughout the country, to the end that the children of workers in industrial and rural communities may have maximum opportunity of training to become unafraid, well-informed citizens of a free country.

PLATFORM OF THE SINGLE TAX PARTY

Adopted at Chicago, July 12, 1920

We, the Single Tax Party, in National Convention assembled, recognizing that the earth was created for all the people for all time, and that all have an equal and inalienable right to live on it and to produce from it the things that they require for their welfare and happiness;

Recognizing that all wealth, whatever its form, is produced only by labor applied to land, or to the products of land, and that the denial of the equal access to land is a denial of the right to produce and thus a denial of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, as proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence;

Recognizing further that under our tax laws and our system of land tenure a small number of people own most of the land of our country, and exact tribute in the form of ground rent from all the rest of the people in exchange for the mere permission to work and to produce, thus not only reaping where they have not sown but also holding idle the greater part of the earth's surface and restricting the amount of wealth we otherwise easily could and would produce;

Recognizing further that the value of the land, as expressed in its ground rentals or in its capitalized selling price, is a community value created by the presence of the people and, therefore, belongs to the people and not to the individual;

We, therefore, **DEMAND** that the full rental value of the land be collected by the Government instead of all taxes, and that all buildings, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes, and every product of labor be entirely exempt from taxation.

And we pledge ourselves that, if entrusted with the power to do so, we will express in law and enforce to the utmost such measures as will make effective these demands, to the end that involuntary poverty and want may be abolished and economic and civic freedom for all be assured.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS¹ ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism,

¹ The First Continental or General Congress met in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. It consisted of forty-four delegates, representing eleven of the thirteen colonies. Later, eleven more delegates took their seats, and all of the colonies were represented except Georgia, which promised to concur with "her sister colonies" in their effort to maintain their rights as English subjects. Peyton Randolph of Virginia was elected President of the Congress. Among the distinguished men who had assembled there, were Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, John Dickinson, William Livingston, John Jay, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Roger Sherman, and the Rutledges of South Carolina.

On the 14th of October, the Congress adopted a Declaration of Colonial Rights. On the 26th, a Petition to the King, asking the redress of their wrongs, was drawn up.

The Second Continental Congress (at which Georgia was represented), met in Philadelphia, in the State House (Independence Hall), May 10, 1775. A second Petition to the King was adopted, and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, though Congress still denied any intention of separating from Great Britain, and earnestly expressed a desire for the peaceful settlement of all difficulties.

The King's Proclamation, declaring the Colonies in rebellion, and calling for volunteers to force them to submit to taxation without representation, and other unjust measures, finally convinced the delegates to Congress of the impossibility of our continuing our allegiance to the English crown.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." John Adams of Massachusetts seconded the motion.

Later, a committee of five—Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York—was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson drew up the paper, though a few alterations were made in it by the committee and by Congress.

It was adopted on the evening of July 4, 1776, and signed by John Hancock, President of Congress, and Charles Thomson, Secretary. On August 2, 1776, it was signed by the members, representing all the thirteen states.

it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies ;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments ;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity ; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved ; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members :—

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON,

Massachusetts Bay

SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York

WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey

RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

Pennsylvania

ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,

JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

Delaware

CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS M'KEAN.

Maryland

SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE.
CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton.

Virginia

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, JR.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina

WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

South Carolina

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HAYWARD, JR.,
THOMAS LYNCH, JR.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON.

RESOLVED, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES ⁽¹⁾

We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress ² of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

The footnotes to the Constitution were taken from "The Leading Facts of American History," by D. H. Montgomery. Ginn and Company, Publishers. Used by permission.

¹ Before the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, the Thirteen Colonies were subject to the king of Great Britain. From July 4, 1776, the United States of America were governed by a Continental or General Congress, until March 1, 1781, when the states adopted a constitution, called the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States." The Confederation had no president, no supreme court; and consisted of a single house of Congress, made up of delegates elected by the legislatures of the states. Under this constitution Congress continued to govern—in so far as a body with no practical authority can be said to govern—until March 4, 1789; but on May 14, 1787, a convention of delegates from all the states, except Rhode Island, met in Philadelphia "to form a more perfect union" (see the opening words of the Constitution above). The whole number of delegates that attended was fifty-five, but only thirty-nine signed the Constitution. The Articles of Confederation had been made by the States only; but as the opening words of the new compact declare, "We, the People," made the Constitution.

George Washington presided over the convention, and Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, James Madison, Rufus King, Roger Sherman, Alexander Hamilton, John Dickinson, Charles C. Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, J. Rutledge, and Gouverneur Morris, were among its distinguished members.

Madison, Hamilton, Washington, and Franklin took the leading part in the great work of drafting the new Constitution, and after its adoption by the convention, Madison and Hamilton used their influence, with great effect, to urge its ratification by the states, especially by New York (see their papers in the "Federalist").

After a stormy session of nearly four months, during which the convention several times threatened to break up in hopeless dispute, the Constitution was at last adopted.

The first important question of debate was between the delegates from the small states and those from the large ones in regard to representation in Congress. If the representation rested wholly on population then the large states would, of course, have entire control.

By a compromise or mutual concession it was finally agreed that Congress should consist of two houses: 1. The House of Representatives chosen by the people of the different states and representing them. 2. The Senate, or Upper House, consisting of two members from each state. In the Senate, therefore, the small states stand equal to the large ones. This arrangement satisfied all.

The second great question was whether slaves should be counted in reckoning the number of the population with reference to representation in Congress. The North insisted that they should not; the South (where slaves were very numerous) that they should. The contest on this point was long and bitter. Finally it was agreed that three-fifths of the slaves should be counted with reference to both representation and taxation (though the slaves themselves were of course neither represented nor taxed). "Three-fifths of all other persons." These "other persons" were slaves.

The last question was in regard to commerce and to protection of slaveholders. It was agreed that Congress should have the entire control of commerce (the states had had it before). It was agreed that the importation of slaves might be prohibited after 1808. (These slaves are called "such persons." The word slave does not occur in the Constitution). It was also agreed that runaway slaves should be returned to their owners. ("No person [i. e. slave] held to service," etc.)

If the compromise between the small states and the large, and the North and South, had not been made, the Constitution would have been rejected, and we should in all probability have split up into two or three hostile republics.

While the members of the convention were signing the Constitution, the venerable Dr. Franklin, then aged eighty-one, rose and said: "I have often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at the sun [painted on the wall back of the president's chair], without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising, and not a setting sun."

The Constitution was then submitted to the thirteen states. In 1788 eleven had ratified it (Rhode Island and North Carolina declining then, though they gave their assent before the close of 1790), and on March 4, 1789, the new Constitution went into operation, although, owing to delays, Washington was not inaugurated as the first President until April 30 of that year.

² The Speaker presides. Other officers are the clerk, sergeant-at-arms, door-keeper, etc.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.¹ The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker² and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers,³ and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

¹ "Persons" meaning slaves. This has been amended (by Amendments XIII and XIV.), and is no longer in force.

² Congress assembles on the first Monday in December; the session closes, by custom, at midnight on the 3d of the following March. Each Congress exists two years.

³ The chief of these are the secretary, sergeant-at-arms, door-keeper, etc.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation¹ for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such recon-

¹ \$7,500 a year, with twenty cents for every mile necessarily travelled in coming to and returning from the Capital. Speaker of the House, \$12,000.

sideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings;—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.¹

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex-post-facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impost, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Section 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

¹ "Person" meaning slave; referring to the foreign slave-trade, abolished in 1808.

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.¹]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.²

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation³ which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

¹ This paragraph in brackets has been set aside by the XII. Amendment.

² The electors are chosen on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November, next before the expiration of a presidential term. They vote (by Act of Congress of Feb. 3, 1887) on the second Monday in January following, for President and Vice-President. The votes are counted, and declared in Congress on the second Wednesday of the next February.

³ The President now receives \$75,000 a year; the Vice-President, \$12,000. Previous to 1873 the President received but \$25,000 a year.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information¹ of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Section 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to

¹ The Presidents, beginning with Jefferson, have done this by messages sent to Congress. Washington, Adams, and Wilson read speeches or messages to that body.

controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another States;¹—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person² held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

¹ But compare Amendment XI.

² "Person" here means slave. This was the original Fugitive Slave Law. It now has no force, since, by Amendment XIII. to the Constitution, slavery is prohibited.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President, and Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire

JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

Massachusetts

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING.

Connecticut

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

New York

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

New Jersey

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

Pennsylvania

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Delaware

GEORGE READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

Maryland

JAMES M'HENRY,
DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

Virginia

JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

North Carolina

WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

South Carolina

JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

Georgia

WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

AMENDMENTS

TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, RATIFIED
ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE FIFTH ARTICLE
OF THE FOREGOING CONSTITUTION.

Article I.¹—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

Article II.—A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article III.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Article VI.—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Article VII.—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

Article VIII.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX.—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

¹ The first ten amendments were offered in 1789, and adopted before the close of 1791. They were largely the work of James Madison. They were adopted, says Judge Story, in order to "more efficiently guard certain rights already provided for in the Constitution, or to prohibit certain exercises of authority supposed to be dangerous to the public interests."

Article XI.¹—The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against any of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Article XII.²—The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate;—the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Article XIII.³—Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XIV.⁴—Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due

¹ Proposed in 1794; adopted 1798. A number of states have, at different times, taken advantage of this amendment to repudiate their debts.

² Adopted 1804.

³ This confirmed the Proclamation of Emancipation; it was adopted in 1865.

⁴ Adopted 1868. The object of sections 1 and 2 was to make the freedmen (negroes), emancipated during the Civil War, citizens of the United States.

process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be appointed among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Article XV.¹—Section 1. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XVI.²—The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever sources derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Article XVII.—Section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Section 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the Legislature of any State may empower the

¹ Adopted 1870. Its object was to give the freedmen (negroes) the right to vote.

² The ratification of this Amendment was proclaimed by the Secretary of State, May 31, 1913.

Executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

Section 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Article XVIII.¹—Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative, unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Article XIX.²—Section 1. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

¹ Official proclamation of the adoption of this Amendment by the required 36 States was made by the Secretary of State on January 29, 1919.

² The suffrage amendment resolution was passed by Congress on June 4, 1919. Its wording is as originally phrased by the pioneer suffragist, Susan B. Anthony, soon after the Civil War had freed and enfranchised the colored people.

PROCLAMATION OF THE 19th AMENDMENT

Bainbridge Colby,

Secretary of State of the United States of America

To all to Whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:

Know Ye, That the Congress of the United States at the first session, Sixty-sixth Congress begun at Washington on the nineteenth day of May in the year one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, passed a Resolution as follows: to wit—

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

“Article —.

“The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

“Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

And, further, that it appears from official documents on file in the Department of State that the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States pro-

posed as aforesaid has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

And, further, that the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed Amendment, constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of Section 205 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby certify that the Amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

[Seal.] Done at the City of Washington, this 26th day of August, in the
year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

¹ ELECTORAL VOTES BY STATES

Alabama	12	Nevada	3
Arizona	3	New Hampshire	4
Arkansas	9	New Jersey	14
California	13	New Mexico	3
Colorado	6	New York	45
Connecticut	7	North Carolina	12
Delaware	3	North Dakota	5
Florida	6	Ohio	24
Georgia	14	Oklahoma	10
Idaho	4	Oregon	5
Illinois	29	Pennsylvania	38
Indiana	15	Rhode Island	5
Iowa	13	South Carolina	9
Kansas	10	South Dakota	5
Kentucky	13	Tennessee	12
Louisiana	10	Texas	20
Maine	6	Utah	4
Maryland	8	Vermont	4
Massachusetts	18	Virginia	12
Michigan	15	Washington	7
Minnesota	12	West Virginia	8
Mississippi	10	Wisconsin	13
Missouri	18	Wyoming	3
Montana	4		
Nebraska	8		
		Total	531

¹ The Electoral College is made up of one Elector for each Congressman and Senator. It now numbers 531 members, making 266 necessary to a choice.

APPENDIX B

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

1789-97	George Washington.
1797-1801	John Adams.
1801-09	Thomas Jefferson.
1809-17	James Madison.
1817-25	James Monroe.
1825-29	John Quincy Adams.
1829-37	Andrew Jackson.
1837-41	Martin Van Buren.
1841-45	William Henry Harrison (died 1841). John Tyler.
1845-49	James K. Polk.
1849-53	Zachary Taylor (died 1850). Millard Fillmore.
1853-57	Franklin Pierce.
1857-61	James Buchanan.
1861-65	Abraham Lincoln.
1865-69	Lincoln re-elected (died 1865). Andrew Johnson.
1869-77	Ulysses S. Grant.
1877-81	Rutherford B. Hayes.
1881-85	James A. Garfield (died 1881). Chester A. Arthur.
1885-89	Grover Cleveland.
1889-93	Benjamin Harrison.
1893-97	Grover Cleveland.
1897-1905	William McKinley (died 1901). Theodore Roosevelt.
1905-09	Theodore Roosevelt.
1909-1913	William Howard Taft.
1913-	Woodrow Wilson.

APPENDIX C

“MILESTONE DATES” IN U. S. HISTORY

1606	First Charter of Virginia.
1607	First Settlement in Virginia.
1614	First Settlement in New York.
1619	Negro Slavery introduced in Virginia.
1620	First Settlement in Massachusetts.
1626	Dutch Purchase Manhattan Island from the Indians.
1639	Connecticut Constitution (the first written Constitution framed by the people in America).
1664	Taking of New Amsterdam (New York).
1774	The First Continental Congress meets at Philadelphia.
1775	Beginning of the Revolutionary War. (Battle of Lexington April 19, 1775).
1776	Declaration of Independence.
1781	Formation of the Confederation.
1783	Recognition of the Independence of the United States.
1787	Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia.
1788	The Constitution Ratified by Nine States.
1789	Beginning of the Federal Government.
1793	Invention of the Cotton Gin by Eli Whitney.
1803	Purchase of Louisiana from France.
1807	Invention of the Steamboat by Robert Fulton.
1808	Importation of Slaves Forbidden.
1812-14	War with England.
1812-15	Disappearance of the Federalist Party.
1819	Purchase of Florida from Spain.
1820	The Missouri Compromise.
1823	Promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine.
1824	High Protective Tariff Established.
1828-32	Formation of the Whig Party.
1830	First Passenger Railroad built.
1840	U. S. Treasury established.

- 1840 National Nominating Conventions established.
- 1844 First Electric Telegraph in operation.
- 1845 Admission of Texas to the Union.
- 1846 Howe invents the Sewing Machine.
- 1848 Discovery of Gold in California.
- 1846-48 Mexican War and Cession of California.
- 1850 Passage of the Fugitive Slave Law.
- 1852-56 Fall of the Whig Party.
- 1854-56 Formation of the Republican Party.
- 1857 Dred Scott Decision by U. S. Supreme Court.
- 1858 First Atlantic Cable laid.
- 1859 Discovery of Petroleum in Pennsylvania.
- 1861-65 Civil War to Abolish Slavery.
- 1869 First Trans-Continental Railroad Completed.
- 1879 Specie Payments resumed.
- 1890 Sherman Act prohibiting Trusts and Combinations.
- 1898 War with Spain and Annexation of Hawaiian Islands.
- 1899 Cession by Spain of Philippine Islands and Porto Rico.
- 1904 Acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone.
- 1917 United States entered the Great World War.

APPENDIX D

WITH OR WITHOUT RESERVATIONS?

Following is the complete text of the much-cussed-and-discussed League of Nations compact and the Lodge Reservations, which seems to be the principal "bone of contention" between the two big dogs in this fight.

This solemn covenant has already been duly signed by the authorized representatives of the following countries: Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire (Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India), Czecho-Slovakia, France, Guatemala, Italy, Japan, Poland, Peru, Siam, and Uruguay. All thirteen of these invited to join, have adhered, namely: Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Persia, Spain, Denmark, The Netherlands, Norway, Salvador, Sweden, Switzerland, and Venezuela.

A fair summing up of the case at present, as between the two major political parties on this issue would seem to be that "We're damned if we do, or damned if we don't."

As the club steward remarks: "Will you have yours straight, or mixed?"

COVENANT FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AS FINALLY ADOPTED AT THE PLENARY SESSION

PREAMBLE

The high contracting parties, in order to promote international cooperation, to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international laws as the actual rule of conduct among governments and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this covenant of the league of nations.

ARTICLE 1.

The original members of the league of nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this covenant and also such of those other States named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the league.

Any fully self-governing State, dominion, or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the league if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guaranties of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the league in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.

Any member of the league may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the league, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE 2.

The action of the league under this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an assembly and of a council, with a permanent secretariat.

ARTICLE 3.

The assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the league.

The assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require, at the seat of the league or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the assembly each member of the league shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

ARTICLE 4.

The council shall consist of representatives of the principal allied and associated powers, together with representatives of four other members of the league. These four members of the league shall be selected by the assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the league first selected by the assembly, representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain, and Greece shall be members of the council.

With the approval of the majority of the assembly, the council may name additional members of the league, whose representatives shall always be members of the council; the council with like approval may increase the number of members of the league to be selected by the assembly for representation on the council.

The council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the league, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the league not represented on the council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the league.

At meetings of the council each member of the league represented on the council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

ARTICLE 5.

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant, or by the terms of the present treaty, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the league represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the assembly or of the council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the assembly or by the council, and may be decided by a majority of the members of the league represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the assembly and the first meeting of the council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 6.

The permanent secretariat shall be established at the seat of the league. The secretariat shall comprise a secretary general and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first secretary general shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the secretary general shall be appointed by the council with the approval of the majority of the assembly.

The secretaries and the staff of the secretariat shall be appointed by the secretary general with the approval of the council.

The secretary general shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the assembly and of the council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the members of the league in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 7.

The seat of the league is established at Geneva.

The council may at any time decide that the seat of the league shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the league, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the league and officials of the league when engaged on the business of the league shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the league or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE 8.

The members of the league recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every 10 years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council.

The members of the league agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the league which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the league undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

ARTICLE 9.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the council on the execution of the provisions of articles 1 and 8 and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE 10.

The members of the league undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league. In case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the league or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole league, and the league shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to

safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the secretary general shall, on the request of any member of the league, forthwith summon a meeting of the council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the league to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE 12.

The members of the league agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE 13.

The members of the league agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which can not be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the league agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the league which complies therewith.

In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14.

The council shall formulate and submit to the members of the league for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or by the assembly.

ARTICLE 15.

If there should arise between members of the league any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with article 13, the members of the league agree that they will submit the matter to the council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the secretary general, who will make all necessary

arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the secretary general, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, with all the relevant facts and papers; and the council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute, terms of settlement thereof as the council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the council, either unanimously or by a majority vote, shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any member of the league represented on the council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the league agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the league reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within 14 days after the submission of the dispute to the council.

In any case referred to the assembly all the provisions of this article and of article 12, relating to the action and powers of the council, shall apply to the action and powers of the assembly, provided that a report made by the assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the league represented on the council and of a majority of the other members of the league, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE 16.

Should any member of the league resort to war in disregard of its covenants under articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the league, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the league or not.

It shall be the duty of the council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the league.

The members of the league agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the league which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the league.

Any member of the league which has violated any covenant of the league may be declared to be no longer a member of the league by a vote of the council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the league represented thereon.

ARTICLE 17.

In the event of a dispute between a member of the league and a State which is not a member of the league, or between States not members of the league, the State or States not members of the league shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of articles 12 to 16, inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the council.

Upon such invitation being given, the council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the league, the provisions of article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, the council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE 18.

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the league shall be forthwith registered with the secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or intentional engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 19.

The assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the league of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 20.

The members of the league severally agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent

with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any member of the league shall, before becoming a member of the league, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE 21.

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 22.

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations, who, by reasons of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the league.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic condition, and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses, such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league.

There are territories, such as southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size or their remoteness from the centers of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the in-

digenous populations. In every case of mandate the mandatory shall render to the council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the league, be explicitly defined in each case by the council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories and to advise the council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE 23.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the league

(a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;

(b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

(c) will intrust the league with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

(d) will intrust the league with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

(e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the league. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be in mind;

(f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24.

There shall be placed under the direction of the league all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the league.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the secretariat of the league shall, subject to the consent of the council, and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information, and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The council may include as part of the expenses of the secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the league.

ARTICLE 25.

The members of the league agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26.

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the league whose representatives compose the council and by a majority of the members of the league whose representatives compose the assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any member of the league which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the league.

ANNEX TO THE COVENANT

1. Original members of the league of nations.

Signatories of the treaty of peace: United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Cuba, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia, Siam, Tczecho-Slovakia, Uruguay.

States invited to accede to the covenant: Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

2. First secretary general of the league of nations.

The Honorable Sir James Eric Drummond, K. C.M. G., C. B.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 11 (Calendar Day, March 18), 1920

RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION

(LODGE RESERVATIONS)

RESOLVED (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty of peace with Germany concluded at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, subject to the following reservations and understandings, which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States unless the instrument of ratification shall have been filed within sixty days after the adoption of the resolution of ratification by the Senate, nor until the said reservations and understandings adopted by the Senate have been accepted as a part and a condition of this resolution of ratification by the Allied and Associated Powers and a failure on the part of the Allied and Associated Powers to make objection to said reservations and understandings prior to the deposit of ratification by the United States shall be taken as a full and final acceptance of such reservations and understandings by said Powers:

1. The United States so understands and construes Article 1 that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

2. The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country by the employment of its military or naval forces, its resources, or any form of economic discrimination, or to interfere in any way in controversies between nations, including all controversies relating to territorial integrity or political independence, whether members of the league or not, under the provisions of Article 10, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States, under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall, in the exercise of full liberty of action, by Act or Joint Resolution so provide.

3. No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article 22, Part 1, or any other provision of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

4. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the council or of the assembly of the League of Nations, or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

5. The United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the assembly or by the council of the League of Nations, provided for in said treaty of peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany.

6. The United States withholds its assent to Articles 156, 157, and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles.

7. No person is or shall be authorized to represent the United States, nor shall any citizen of the United States be eligible, as a member of any body or agency established or authorized by said treaty of peace with Germany, except pursuant to an Act of the Congress of the United States providing for his appointment and defining his powers and duties.

8. The United States understands that the reparation commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by Act or Joint Resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference.

9. The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations, or of the secretariat, or of any commission, or committee, or conference, or other agency, organized under the League of Nations or under the treaty or for the purpose of carrying out the treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States: Provided, That the foregoing limitation shall not apply to the United States proportionate share of the expense of the office force and salary of the secretary general.

10. No plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the council of the League of Nations under the provisions of Article 8 shall be held as binding the United States until the same shall have been accepted by Congress, and the United States reserves the right to increase its armament without the consent of the council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

11. The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a covenant-breaking State, as defined in Article 16 of the covenant of the League of Nations, residing within the United States or in countries other than such covenant-breaking State, to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

12. Nothing in Articles 296, 297, or in any of the annexes thereto or in any other article, section, or annex of the treaty of peace with Germany shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification, or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States.

13. The United States withholds its assent to Part XIII (Articles 387 to 427, inclusive) unless Congress by Act or Joint Resolution shall hereafter make provision for representation in the organization established by said Part XIII, and in such event the participation of the United States will be governed and conditioned by the provisions of such Act or Joint Resolution.

14. Until part 1, being the covenant of the League of Nations, shall be so amended as to provide that the United States shall be entitled to cast a number of votes equal to that which any member of the league and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate shall be entitled to cast, the United States assumes no obligation to be bound, except in cases where Congress has previously given its consent, by any election, decision, report, or finding of the council or assembly in which any member of the league and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate have cast more than one vote.

The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the council or assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the league if such member, or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire united with it politically has voted.

15. In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when such government is attained by Ireland, a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations.

APPENDIX E
¹ BIBLIOGRAPHY

A selected list of books on Civics, Political Science and the
Historical Development of the State.

The Spirit of Laws,—Montesquieu.

Essay on Civil Government,—John Locke.

The Social Contract,—Rousseau.

The Federalist,—Hamilton, Jay, and Madison.

Elliot's Debates,—Jonathan Elliot.

Democracy in America,—Alexis DeTocqueville.

The Constitutional and Political History of the United States,

—Dr. H. von Holst.

The American Commonwealth,—James Bryce.

A History of Political Theories,—W. A. Dunning.

The Reconciliation of Government with Liberty,—John W. Burgess.

An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States,

—Chas. A. Beard.

The Promise of American Life,—Herbert Croly.

Public Opinion and Popular Government,—A. Lawrence Lowell.

(This book discusses Initiative, Referendum and Recall)

The Supreme Court and the Constitution,—Chas. A. Beard.

The New Freedom,—Woodrow Wilson.

American Government and Majority Rule,—Edward Elliott.

Readings on Parties and Elections in the United States,

—Chester Lloyd Jones.

Democracy and the Party System in the United States,

—M. Ostrogorski

The American Doctrine of Judicial Supremacy,—Charles Grove Haines.

Powers of the American People,—Masuji Miyakawa.

¹ This list of books is only suggestive; there are many others that might have been added. The reader who browses among these will doubtless find his way without further aid in the field of kindred literature.





DEC 82

N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA 46962

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 028 001 843 0